

The Century Social Science Series

FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

SECOND EDITION

BY

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA



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EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS, *University of Wisconsin*

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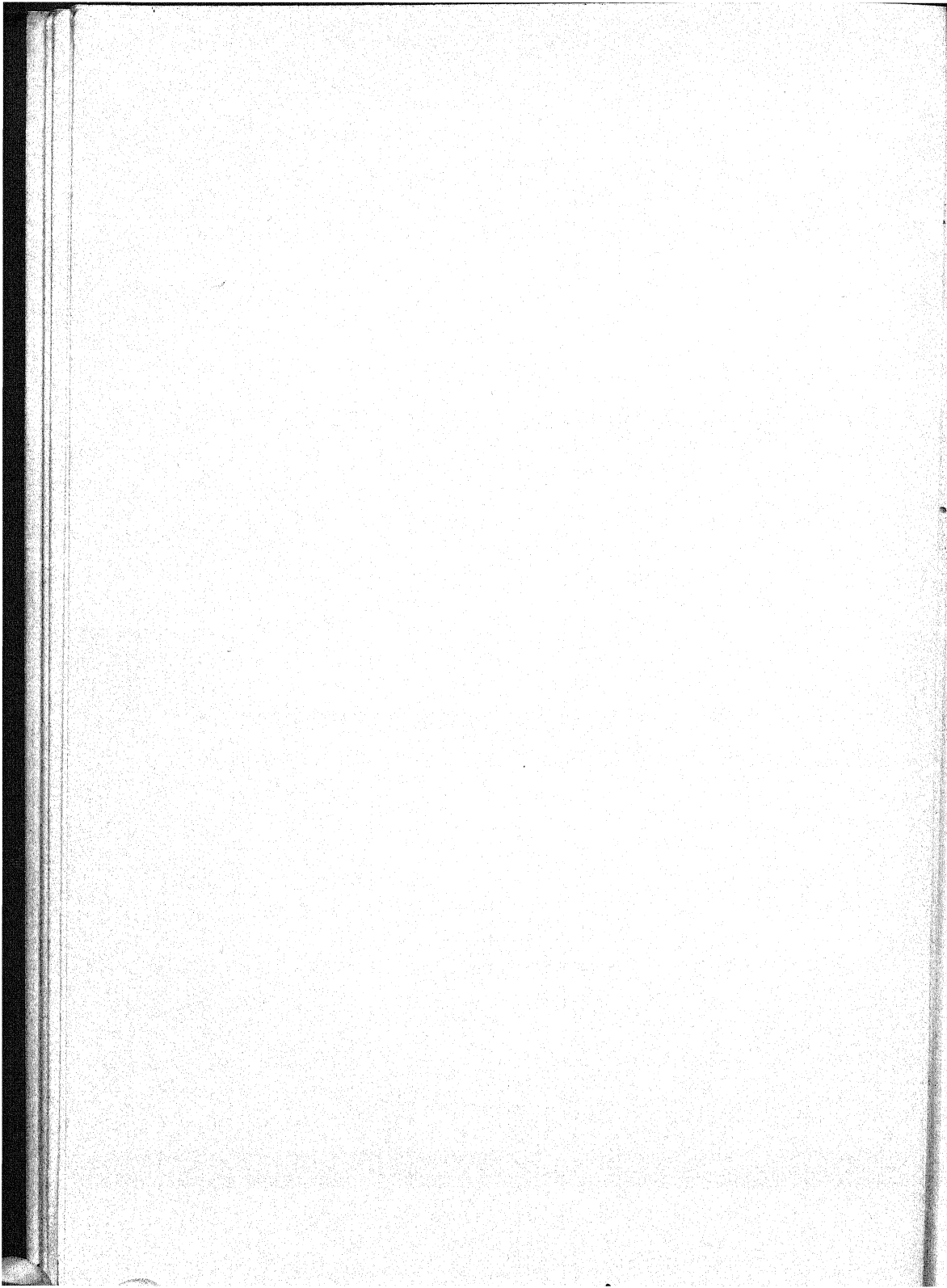
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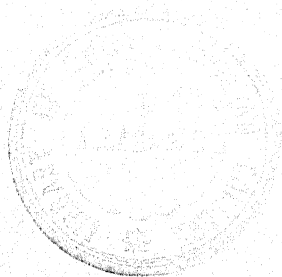


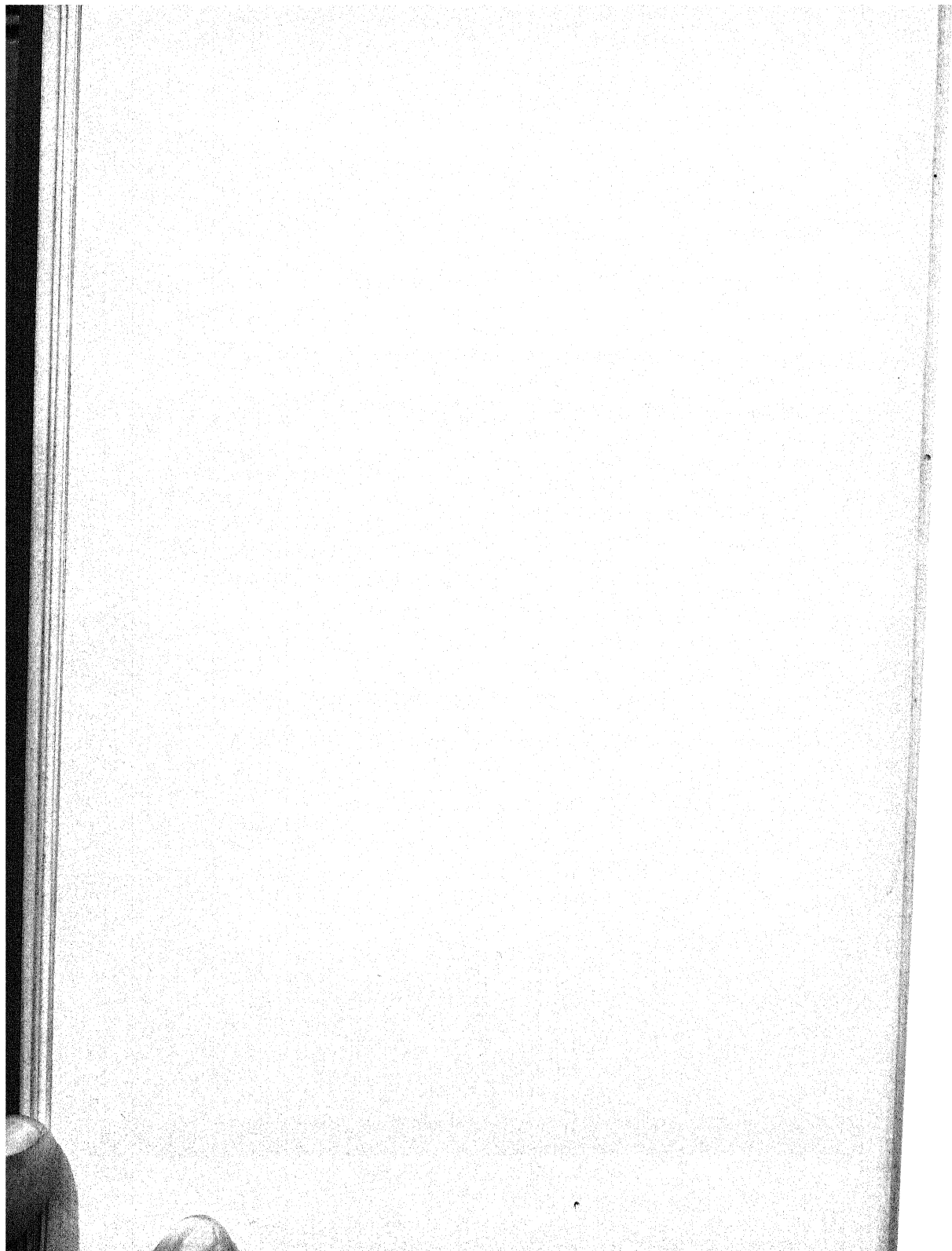
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Social psychology is more than an application of the psychology of the individual to collective behavior. It is more than an imitation theory, an instinct theory, a herd instinct theory, or a conflict theory of social life. It is developing its own approach, concepts, and laws. It treats of the processes of intersocial stimulation and their products in the form of social attitudes and values. It obtains its data by analyzing personal experiences.

The present work originated fourteen years ago since which time the writer has been giving increasing attention to the study and teaching of the subject. It is impossible to mention all the persons to whom I am directly or indirectly indebted in the preparation of this volume. Chief among these is Edward Alsworth Ross, who has been an unfailing stimulus and who has made numerous helpful suggestions.

January 1, 1924.





PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

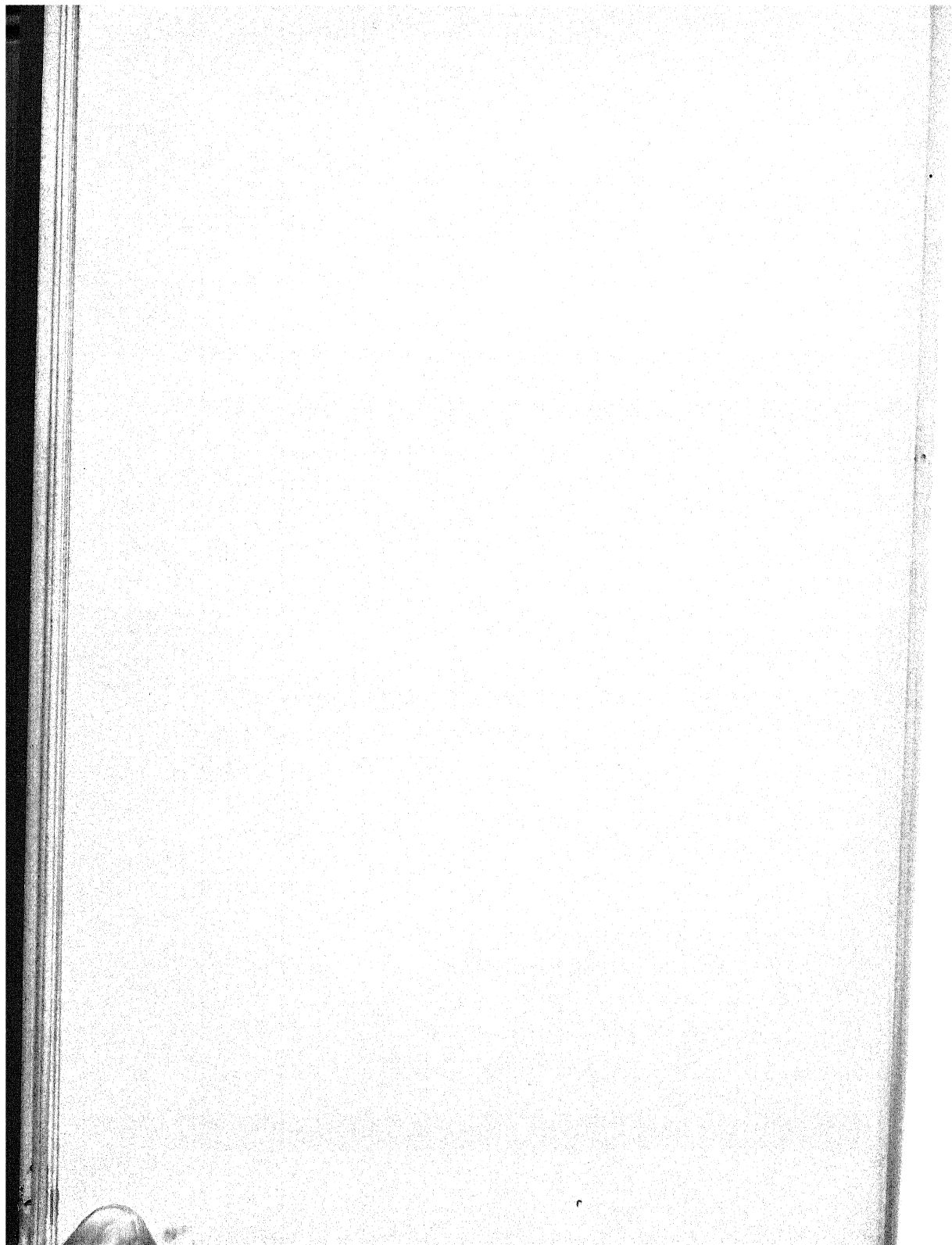
In the eight years which have transpired since the first edition of this volume appeared scientific developments have occurred which have changed certain emphases in social psychology; I have taken account of them in this revision. Among these developments are the maturing of behaviorism, the growth of psychiatry, the rise of *Gestalt* psychology, the renaissance of cultural anthropology with the accompanying leap forward of cultural sociology, and the springing up of life history studies. In my rewriting, none of these stirrings in the mulberry bushes have been overlooked.

The book has been quite rewritten. A number of chapters have been combined and reorganized and a few new ones added. Part IV has been brought back to follow logically Part I. The main theme continues as intersocial stimulation and response, but as interstimulation at any given time of incipient and maturing personalities functioning in social situations.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS.

April 1, 1931.





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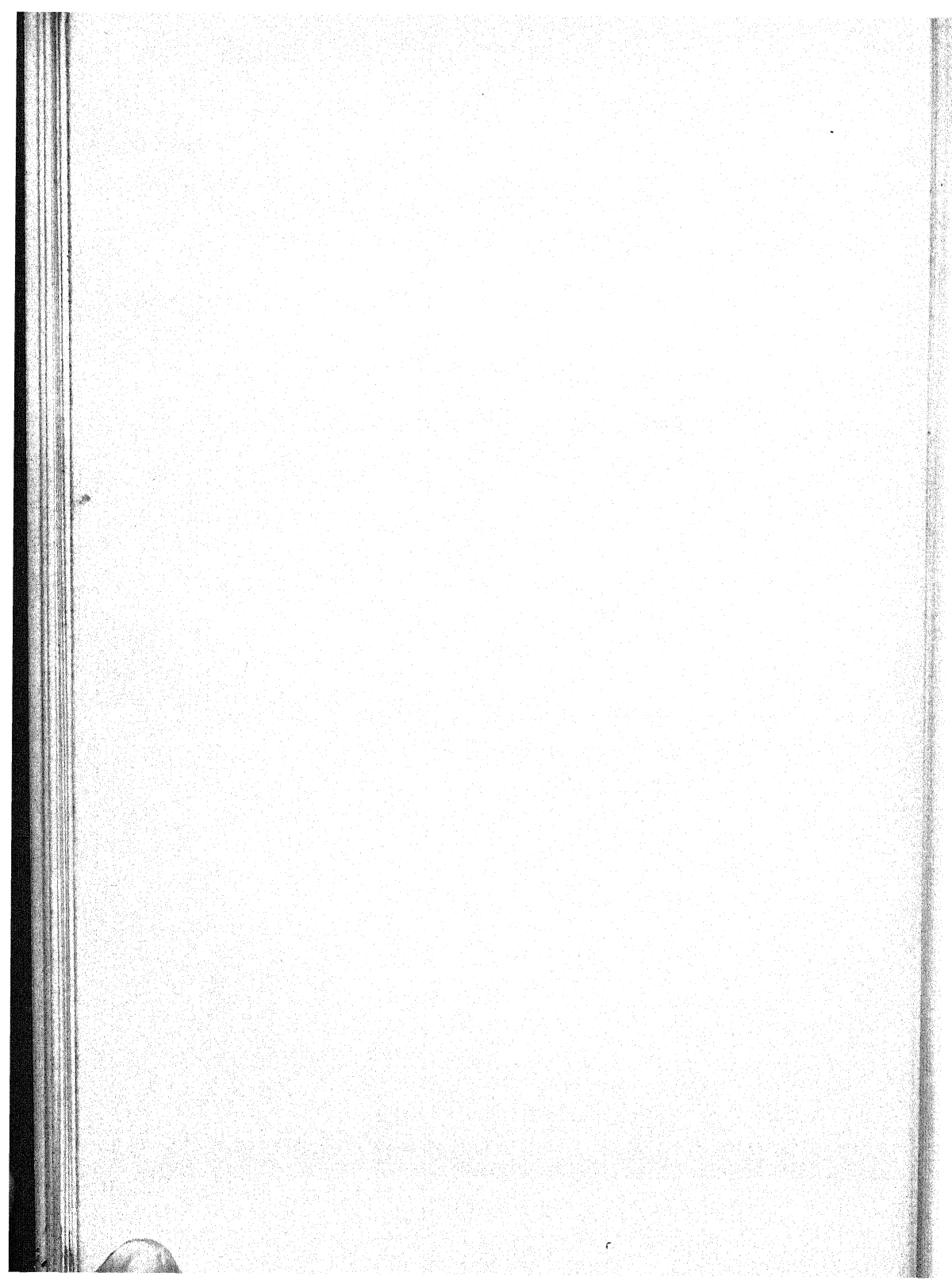
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PART I
PERSONALITY



FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

ORIGINS OF BEHAVIOR

TO study the nature of human nature is fascinating and baffling.¹ Human beings begin life as simple organic units and they develop into complex personalities. They manifest behavior traits some of which mark them off as unique, while others identify them with all mankind. From helpless infants they grow into powerful psychical dynamos, capable of wrecking themselves and social groups, or of creating new and better social worlds. Under the powerful forces of social interaction instinctive, inherited tendencies to act become organized into personalities, ranging in potency from blind tools to creative geniuses.

The processes whereby an organic human unit develops into a well-regulated personality are those of intersocial stimulation and response. These processes include communication, suggestion, discussion, discriminating, adjusting, socializing. Thanks to social interstimulation instinctive traits give rise to behavior patterns, attitudes and values, status, personalities, group phenomena. These products in turn originate new cycles of interstimulation and of social products.

To understand the processes of intersocial stimulation and response it is necessary to appreciate the raw and the developed materials which do the stimulating and the responding. Social processes at any given time depend on the degree of organization or disorganization of the personalities involved. The response of a person to a given stimulus depends in part on the configuration or organization of his personality, that is, of his attitudes, at that time.² The response depends also on how a person defines or interprets a given social situation at a particular time. Usually

¹ See Ellsworth Faris, "The Nature of Human Nature," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XX: 15-29. In this paper human nature is defined as "that quality which we attribute to others as the result of introspective behavior" (p. 19).

² From *Gestalt* psychology comes the useful term *configuration of personality*. For socio-psychological use of it, see W. I. Thomas in the symposium entitled *The Unconscious* (Knopf, 1927), Ch. VI, "The Configurations of Personality."

the configuration of his personality explains how he defines a social situation.³

On the basis of organic inheritance, human nature slowly and fitfully evolves in and through the process of intersocial stimulation and response. We come into the world as organisms and develop into persons.⁴ Dr. William Healy refers to a person "as the product of conditions and forces which have been actively forming him from the earliest moment of unicellular life."⁵ Moreover, a person is not only a product but he is a set of stimuli. He illustrates what Professor E. A. Ross has aptly called: "individual ascendancy."⁶ By radiating stimuli a person may not only influence the behavior of other persons in ordinary ways but uniquely, and thus achieve leadership.

Interstimulation occurs not between isolated individuals but always between the members of social groups. Sometimes this interstimulation leads to the formation of new groups: temporary, as in the case of crowds and mobs; relatively permanent, as in the case of families, or business establishments. So interstimulation is a phenomenon not merely of persons but of groups as well.

Social psychology may now be tentatively defined as the study of the interacting of persons in social groups. It studies conditioned behavior, attitudes, status, personality, leadership; it considers the formation of and transitions in social groups.⁷

INSTINCTIVE BEHAVIOR

Human nature originates in the psycho-physical patterns that develop in the unicellular stage of human life. It is an outcome of physiological and neural processes, a combination of reflex reactions to natural processes, a set of instinctive tendencies to respond, not in hard and fast molds to stimuli, but in varied and elastic particulars.

The instinct theory of human nature as developed by William McDougall⁸ holds that there are relatively fixed types of behavior that are

³ For further discussion of the significance of how a person "defines a social situation," see Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Knopf, 1927), I: 68ff.; II: 1849ff.

⁴ Cf. Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 55.

⁵ *The Individual Delinquent* (Little, Brown, 1915), p. 16.

⁶ *Social Control* (Macmillan, 1901), p. vii; *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), p. 4.

⁷ For comparative purposes the student may examine other texts in social psychology, such as those included in the selected library list at the close of this volume.

⁸ *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (Luce, 1926).

inherited by human beings and by higher animals generally. The development of these fixed patterns, or "instincts," is inherent in human and animal make-up, but the directions which this evolution may take depend somewhat on social stimuli. The ready-made fixed character of "instincts" together with their implied self-developing nature has been vigorously challenged. The assertion that inherited tendencies are the essential springs of human behavior, whether personal or collective, has probably been overstressed by Professor McDougall. The rôle played by conditioning has been underemphasized. Furthermore, specific "instincts" have been isolated too definitely. Moreover, an "instinct" as a result as well as a cause has been overlooked. The behavior of an adult which has been attributed to an "instinct" is partly the result of conditioning due to environmental stimuli.

As an antidote to the instinct theory and to related psychological theories, behaviorism began to develop about 1912 in the United States. The extreme behaviorists hold that all human traits are environmental products and that training and conditioning of simple reflexes will lead to any of the so-called "instinct" phenomena in human life. Extreme behaviorism undoubtedly shuns the "instinct" theory too much; it goes too far to the left.⁹

We may credit "instincts" to higher animals, such as the beaver and the robin. The one needs little practice in cutting down a tree and in building a dam; the other without instruction builds a nest. The robin's first nest is as well made or nearly as well made as her last. But not so with human beings whose sensitized nature is widely responsive. Sensitized protoplasm responds to stimuli according to its configuration or organization at the time of contact.

At its beginning the human organism is endowed with tropistic¹⁰ and reflex action patterns¹¹ after the manner of the lower animals. It has mechanisms for responding to elemental stimuli. Some of these mechanisms produce simple reflex responses, while others are the centers of complex instinctive¹² activities.

The instinctive tendencies are closely connected with *aptitudes*, i.e., inherited tendencies to do some things better than other things, or to do some things better than other persons do them. Specific aptitudes are

⁹ A sprightly presentation and criticism of the behavioristic position may be found in Watson and McDougall, *The Battle of Behaviorism* (W. W. Norton, 1929).

¹⁰ Tropistic action is behavior due to chemical and physical action.

¹¹ Cf. Hornell Hart, *The Science of Social Relations* (Holt, 1927), Ch. VI.

¹² "Instinctive" is used in the general sense of "inherited" but not as a specific and fixed phenomenon.

those possessed by some human beings to greater degree than by others. They include mathematical, mechanical, artistic, and abstract reasoning traits.

Disposition and *temperament* are so closely involved with human feelings that they will be treated in the chapter on "Dynamic Behavior." *Attitudes* are such vital factors in intersocial stimulation that they will be given a separate consideration. Suffice it to say here, that the human organism is (potentially) alive with tendencies to action, with muscular-neural mechanisms, and with behavior patterns.

Native impulses may result in promoting the welfare (1) of the individual organism, and (2) of social groups. As a rule, however, these goals are not sought consciously. The stimuli are usually sensory, not rational and thought out. The chick, for instance, which hears the warning cluck and runs to the mother hen does not stop to consider the necessity of running to cover for self-preservation. The warning cry releases the chick's innate fleeing mechanisms, and energizes the chick to run to cover. Chicks that do not respond properly to warning calls soon lose their lives; those who do promptly respond will possibly become progenitors of a line of chicks characterized by fleeing-to-cover mechanisms.

The prevalence of large families a century ago in the United States, or to-day among the poorer classes, does not mean at all that the parents in question were or are motivated by the idea of swelling the population. Most self-sacrificing deeds are performed without thought of benefitting the human race, for example, the countless acts of maternal self-sacrifice in behalf of children. Close at hand, sensory stimuli perform the primary rôle in intersocial stimulation. As a result, behavior which may turn out to be either socialized or unsocialized becomes fixed in *behavior patterns*.

The human organism, moreover, is equipped to act in relation to factors present neither here nor now. This latter type of stimuli, involving the absent and the future (or past) is usually at a great disadvantage when measured against the stimuli originating in the here and now. Personality problems often arise out of conflicts between inherited tendencies to act with reference to current values and to act with reference to the future.

NEURO-PHYSIOLOGICAL BEHAVIOR

Origins of behavior are also found in neurological and physiological processes. The autonomic neural system is ever with us and is accountable for a great deal of behavior. The long-unnoticed endocrine glands are

coming into the focus of attention; the hormones which they secrete are regulators of behavior. Introvertive and extrovertive behavior while responsive to social stimuli is influenced by chemical and metabolic changes within the organism.

Autonomic Behavior. Inherited human nature includes the autonomic neural apparatus, with its cranial, sympathetic, and sacral systems.¹³ The autonomic meets the life-giving and life-producing needs. It operates steadily, as illustrated by heart, lung, and digestive actions. It follows rhythmic or peristaltic patterns. It takes care of all standardized needs. When the central neural system rests (and a human being "sleeps") the autonomic continues "on the job."

Hunger and sex impulses are grounded in the autonomic. They are deeper seated than and beyond the direct control of the central system. Naturally they may give rise to conflicts since the central system takes cognizance of social rules and values which may run quite contrary to the autonomic expressions of hunger and sex.¹⁴

Endocrine Behavior. Human reactions are partly to be understood in endocrine terms.¹⁵ Recent studies have shown that the secretions of the endocrine or ductless glands affect powerfully the nature of human responses in social situations. Hyper-thyroid activity increases nervousness and abnormal social responses. The study of thyroid activity brings forth the statement that three and one-half grains of thyroxin in the human organism is normal. Then comes the colorful assertion that this three and one-half grains measures the distance between intelligence and mental defectiveness, for without thyroxin a human being could not function mentally or socially.

Adrenin, the secretion of the adrenal glands, puts sugar into the blood and energizes one to overcome the obstacles of life. Without adrenin, it is doubtful whether a person could become "fighting mad," and whether social stimulus and response could take on any of its present American rush and speed. Endurance, so necessary in survival and in leadership, is owed partly to adrenin, perhaps the most powerful drug manufactured within the human organism.

¹³ It was Edward J. Kempf who did the pioneer work in advancing the autonomic theory of personality. See his "The Autonomic Functions of the Personality," *Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series*, No. 28, 1918.

¹⁴ The autonomic system furnishes the stimuli analyzed by Freud and his followers. It plays a large rôle in the so-called "subconscious" which is supposed to dominate the "conscious" or to direct the "conscious" from behind closed doors, as it were.

¹⁵ For pioneer works in this field see Louis Berman, *The Glands Regulating Personality* (Macmillan, 1922) and *The Personal Equation* (Century, 1925); also E. A. S. Schafer, *The Endocrine Organs* (Longmans, Green, 1924).

Hyper-pituitary activity seems to bear a relation to the development of persistence and self-control. Tendencies toward concealment, stealing, lying are sometimes connected with hypo-pituitary activity. Be these theories as they may, it doubtless is true that the endocrine system acts as a whole, and, more important, that the reactions of a person to social stimulation vary according to endocrine activities. The endocrines are connected with the autonomic system. Together the endocrine and autonomic systems play important rôles in instinctive tendencies.

Introversion and Extroversion. Another inheritance which one must know about if he would understand why persons react differently to similar stimuli is known as *introversion* and *extroversion*. Jung, one of the pupils of Freud, has made clear that human beings respond in the interstimulation process according to the predominance of introversion or extroversion in their make-up.¹⁶

Introversion refers to turning attention inward upon ideas, while extroversion is turning attention outward upon objects. Everyone seems to have inherited both sets of tendencies and under intersocial stimulation develops this two-fold nature unevenly. So one may behave introvertively most of the time, yet on occasions extrovertively. Another person may reverse this process.¹⁷

The person who becomes organized introvertively, that is, who is more introvertive than extrovertive, is likely to feel that there is a great deal wrong with the world and to assume the rôle of a social critic, a reformer, a propagandist, an inventor, an Utopian dreamer. The extrovertively organized person goes out to meet life optimistically, to become a doer, to take life as he finds it and make the most of it, to become "a hail fellow well met," a practical, hard-headed man of affairs, a social leader. In extreme cases, the first feels that "whatever is, is wrong"; the second, that "whatever is, is right."

Introvertive and extrovertive traits are complementary, but they are rarely balanced in any one person. A predominance of introvertive traits makes possible intellectual leadership; a preponderance of extrovertive reactions, "social" leadership. An equal development of the two spells a well-balanced personality.

Introversion traits hold a person back from the crowd and even from the ordinary social group. Aloofness that makes recluses may result. Extroversion carries one pell mell into the social whirlpool. Introversion explains high personal sensitiveness, quick resentment, undying feuds,

¹⁶ See C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (Harcourt, Brace, 1924).

¹⁷ See statement by W. I. Thomas, *The Unconscious* (Knopf, 1927), p. 143.

hallucinations leading to personality breakdown. Extroversion explains happy-go-lucky attitudes, the "go-getter" attitudes of "service clubs," and in extreme form, mob-mindedness, crazes, personal hysteria leading also to personality disorganization.

Introversion and extroversion tendencies are believed to be present in inherited human nature. The ease of development of these traits in a given person is dependent on biological inheritance; their actual expression is determined by that person's social experiences. The position of a person in the introversion-extroversion scale reflects an inherited general property of his nervous system; it is probably influenced greatly by endocrine secretions.¹⁸

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

The human organism is *built to behave*; it is always acting or ready for action. It responds continually to both internal and external stimuli. Its inherited equipment is composed of many behavior patterns. The simplest of these are the inherited reflexes, which together with other patterns that may be formed are organized into the so-called "instincts," the aptitudes, temperament, disposition, attitudes. There are (1) inherited behavior patterns, (2) inherited patterns that are conditioned or modified as a result of responses to social stimuli, and (3) new or wholly acquired patterns, organized to meet new needs. In other words there are inherited behavior patterns, inherited-acquired patterns, and acquired patterns.

Behavior patterns consist of a structural equipment, such as external and internal sense organs, affector neurones, central neurones, effector neurones, glands and muscles; or receptors, conductors, and effectors. The functional nature of a behavior pattern consists of a neural current¹⁹ that travels the structural system, leaping from axone to dendrites, and emerging in regular, dependable internal or external behavior or both. In a sense organ, a specific stimulus creates vibrations which are transmitted along an afferent neural system to central neurones whence impulses speed out over efferent neurones to glands and muscles. Every time the given stimulus is repeated it tends to discharge the whole system of responses and stimuli in the same way. The result is an inherited or acquired or conditioned behavior pattern.

The operation, moreover, of one neural mechanism or behavior pat-

¹⁸ William McDougall, *Outline of Abnormal Psychology* (Scribner's, 1926), p. 442.

¹⁹ The speed of a neural current may be put roughly at a hundred feet a second.

tern, may act as an internal stimulus to discharge another series of neurones. In writing this chapter, for example, I find that upon being interrupted it is best to make a notation of the next idea that is to be developed, or that otherwise after an interim the "next idea," which seemed so pertinent at the time the interruption occurred may not be recalled or only with difficulty. In other words, as a person writes, one thought may lead to another, and so on. The discharge of one thought mechanism acts as a stimulus to create or to release another. There seems to develop not only a neural process but series of them.

Intersocial stimulation implies receptors or organs for receiving stimuli and conducting them into the neural system through affector neurones where responses are made according to the previous configuration of the human organism. Out of a multitude of stimuli the organism responds only to a small percentage. It cannot do otherwise, without destroying its own stability. It responds favorably or unfavorably to certain stimuli, according to the organization of related past experience in the form of behavior patterns or according to new unsatisfied needs. It makes no response to stimuli when it has no appropriate behavior patterns, incipient or organized.

Whenever the organism receives a certain stimulus, a neuro-muscular mechanism or pattern for meeting a given type of situation is automatically set off. Such a standardized type of response energizes the whole individual. A neural impulse in operation is not limited to one phase of the organism. It becomes the whole personality expressing itself in a specific way. These organized neural types of behavior are pre-determined techniques for meeting recurring situations. They serve the individual well until entirely new problems arise and new action patterns are needed.

Internal stimuli, which sometimes explain what are commonly called "motives," may become organized into systems of behavior patterns. A motive is explained by R. S. Woodworth²⁰ objectively, that is, as originating in a stimulus which has not promptly achieved its goal, and which thus persists in organic activity. A motive is often an internally organized series of behavior patterns which operates long after the original external stimuli have ceased to function. Thus, motives may be either primary or secondary: the primary are continual and arise out of basic physical-neural needs of the organism; the secondary originated in external stimuli that arouse unfulfilled wishes.

The individual's long period of immaturity, months of helplessness

²⁰ *Psychology* (Holt, 1921), p. 84f.; also *Dynamic Psychology* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1918).

and years of struggle to control his own organism, not to mention the mastering of his personality problems, is the time when social environment exerts its greatest influence. Hence the human individual does not require the instinct equipment of higher animals, such as the chicken or colt. In fact, such an instinct inheritance would be paralyzing on growth. Instead, the human individual's native impulses, his muscular-neural equipment, his sensitized protoplasm are transformed. Behavior patterns are developed, conditioned, created; meanwhile human nature becomes organized, the individual becomes a person. Thus, the individual escapes the predeterminism of an elaborate instinct equipment. He is born free enough from instincts and subject enough to intersocial stimulation over a period of time, to develop into a person with traits that no one could have prophesied at his birth. It is in the conditioning and modifying of behavior patterns administered through interstimulation that an individual becomes colorful and interesting. His inherited nature gives form to and sets limits to the person he becomes.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Intersocial stimulation and response, a central theme in social psychology, is limited by inherited nature.
2. Inherited nature is composed largely of sensitized protoplasm, behavior patterns, and response mechanisms.
3. The "instinct" theory is overdrawn; the theory of the conditioning under stimulation of sensitized protoplasm possesses greater reasonableness. Instincts are characteristic of certain higher animals rather than of man.
4. A stimulus may be either objective (environmental) or subjective (muscular tension or "motive").
5. The autonomic neural system operates continuously in regulating behavior without control from attention.
6. The endocrine system continuously feeds the human behavior machine with powerful "exciters."
7. Introvertive and extrovertive behavior is the product of chemical and metabolic changes and the interplay of social stimuli.
8. A behavior pattern is a neuro-muscular mechanism which always reacts in the same way to a given type of stimuli and which may be either innate, or conditioned and acquired.
9. The long period of human infancy makes possible through interstimulation a far-reaching modification of inherited nature and the establishment of personality configurations.
10. Inherited human nature is built for action and to respond selectively to social stimuli.

PROBLEMS

1. What is human nature?
2. How is human nature different from animal nature?
3. In what sense is human nature mechanistic?

4. In what particulars is the term, mechanistic, as applied to human nature misleading?
5. What is an "instinct"?
6. Why is the "instinct" theory weak?
7. In what ways would a full equipment of "instincts" be a serious handicap to us?
8. What is a reasonable substitute for the "instinct" theory?
9. Illustrate intersocial stimulation.
10. Why is *behavior pattern* a useful concept?
11. Illustrate how the autonomic neural system affects human responses to stimuli.
12. Cite an illustration showing the relation between the functioning of the endocrine system and human responses.
13. In what ways does introversion affect human responses?
14. In what ways does extraversion result in opposite responses?
15. Are human beings inherently lazy?
16. As a student of social psychology, what constitutes your laboratory?
17. What is your chief aim in studying social psychology?
18. Will the study of intersocial stimulation tend to make you more dependent on others or more independent of others?
19. Cite one particular in which you are the product of intersocial stimulation.

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CHAPTER II

CONDITIONED BEHAVIOR

INHERITED nature is played upon from childhood by countless social stimuli. According to the configuration at the time of his behavior patterns, the human infant responds to some stimuli but not to others. Each new stimulus to which he responds in some way modifies or conditions his behavior patterns; each change gives him a new configuration of personality with which to meet the next oncoming stimulus.

THE CONDITIONING PROCESS

The stimuli to which a person responds are vital for through them come changes in behavior patterns and in personality. These stimuli lead both to the making and re-making of personality. If an infant is born without much human nature, but just physical and animal nature, the social stimuli to which he is promptly subjected, tend to bring out so-called human traits. Certain factors stimulate his vocal apparatus to special combinations of sounds (the simple words of his mother tongue). Without such particular stimuli, he would not "talk," but would be confined to a few cries, grunts, and other weird noises. His "words" are responses to the cultural stimuli from his parents and other associates. A particular culture furnishes him with particular stimuli to which he responds in particular language and social pattern ways. Specific cultural traits of his associates are his major or primary stimuli. Otherwise he would not rise above the animal level. But by participating in a culture environment, he learns to do as humans do.¹ By conditioning, inherited nature becomes human.

Acquired behavior patterns include (commonly known) habits.² Traditionally, habits have been seen as static, but to-day the process out of which habits spring is emphasized. As such, habits are dynamic, develop-

¹ This result is, of course, possible because he has an inherited equipment which serves as a basis for the growth of a human nature.

² The chapters on habit by William James in his *Psychology* (Holt, 1907), and *Talks to Teachers* (Holt, 1914), have long been classic in this field.

mental, evolutionary elements in personality growth, and the major products of interstimulation.³

Habits are organized responses to given stimuli. As is a man's *environment*, so is he, is probably as true as its well-known counterpart, "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he."⁴ In fact, the latter statement may be a corollary of the first, for the lines of one's thought depend upon his social stimuli. Culture environments are prime factors in manufacturing habits. They give to a person's habits their main patterns. It is possible to read a person's social contacts in his habits, for the different stimulating factors tend to reproduce themselves in his acquired behavior patterns. A person has not one social environment but many, and hence countless and often contradictory habits.⁵

When new stimuli appear, a person may fail to meet the situation, and a personal crisis occurs.⁶ Whenever established behavior patterns fail to meet a new situation, a disturbance develops and a reorganization of personality takes place. Attention is centered upon meeting the new stimuli and a conditioning of behavior patterns follows.

Only within narrow limits are the behavior patterns of most higher animals alterable. Animals are greatly handicapped in adjusting themselves to new and peculiar circumstances, because of a relatively fixed equipment of instincts. Man, however, organizes his reflex and impulsive tendencies so completely in response to the multifarious elements in variegated social environments that his inherited nature is drawn out in countless directions. In response to social stimuli innate and instinctive tendencies sooner or later become organized into acquired or habitual mechanisms.⁷

In a sense acquired behavior patterns are more important than instinctive tendencies, for they can keep the organism alive longer and better;⁸ they serve as connecting mechanisms between native tendencies and

³ Interesting chapters along this line are found in J. B. Watson, *The Ways of Behaviorism* (Harper, 1928), Ch. VII; John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), Part One.

⁴ *Proverbs*, XXIII, 7.

⁵ *Culture environment* is used to include all of a person's culture contacts. *Social environment* is used in the narrower sense of many changing daily environments. *Social stimuli* refer to the human carriers of culture traits as stimuli.

⁶ Cf. W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1909), pp. 18ff.

⁷ Because of the individualistic trend that psychology followed until recent years, habits sometimes have been erroneously viewed apart from social stimuli. An outcropping of this conception is found in the work by Charles Platt, *The Psychology of Social Life* (Dodd, Mead, 1922), p. 59, where it is declared: "The formation of habit is a purely individual phenomenon."

⁸ In contending that there are no separate "instincts," John Dewey points out by analogy that science and invention did not progress so long as men indulged in the

new developments in environments. They make adjustment possible and dependable. They enable instinctive tendencies to be conditioned to meet environmental stimuli. Without these adjustment patterns native tendencies would be deprived of meaning. They could not function well and would quickly become vestigial. Instead of assets, they would become handicaps. Man thus is closely identified with acquired behavior patterns as well as with innate ones. What he becomes depends as much on the conditioning of his behavior patterns as on his psychical inheritance.

The acquired behavior patterns of mature persons often conflict with the impulsive nature of youth. The former are different in expression, being complex, organized, and dependable; the latter are more elemental, fitful, and less organized. The social distance that separates parents and children, especially if the children are born late, is due in part to the parents' habitual reactions being formed in response to environments which have since changed and which now furnish very different stimuli to the rising generation. The parent who wishes to remain young along with his children must keep company with them and develop behavior patterns in keeping with the current stimuli rather than in line with antiquated social situations.

There is a strong tendency for persons to build up acquired behavior patterns in keeping with what is expected of them. As a result they develop personalities other than their early momentum would indicate. The social values of the various groups in which they participate are the directing stimuli. Some stimuli prompt to personal improvement; some are degenerating. The prevailing stimuli in a social group indicate the way in which most of the members will develop.

Social stimuli are both curbing and re-invigorating. If a person gives attention to only a very few friends he is dubbed cliquish, and may respond by broadening his contacts. If his sex nature leads him "to make love" in public, he becomes the victim at least of practical jokes, and may be constrained to conceal his deeper reactions behind conventional behavior. If he is greedy, he is referred to as "piggish," until he throws up a "front" of generous behavior behind which he may continue of course to practice avarice.

Acquired behavior patterns are organized responsiveness. When they are stimulated, the whole person acts. If two behavior patterns of equal strength are equally stimulated at the same time, the result is indecision.

notion of special forces to account for physical phenomena, such as suction, thunder, lightning, and rusting of metals. See *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), Ch. VI.

Repeated indecision means personality disorganization. The stimulus to which a person responds depends on its relative strength in relation to other stimuli and on the configuration of his personality.

A person's stock of acquired behavior patterns denotes the type and degree of his development as a human being. They are indicators of the cultural environment to which he has been responding. They are signposts of his future growth. Although he may be unaware, they reveal his attitudes; they are a prophecy of what he may be expected to achieve.

Permanency of Conditioning. Acquired behavior patterns may become fixed. Habit means *to have*. A city milkman who once left his horse and wagon at the curb for a minute was surprised upon his return to see the horse, with the milk cans rolling from the wagon, pursuing on a hot gallop the fire department's engine that had passed. Several years previously the horse had become a well-trained member of the fire department, and on this occasion his former habits had been immediately stimulated by the clanging gong of the fire department.

The adze is widely used by the Eskimo. Attempts have been made to teach the Eskimo the use of the ax, but he persists in returning to the adze with its blade attached at right angles to the handle. The adze habit holds him in spite of strenuous efforts to substitute a better tool. The same tendency is illustrated by the Indian who bought a new two-handled plow but promptly sawed off the left handle "because the plows of his ancestors were guided with but one hand."

In a certain junior high school where the pupils are classified according to their intelligence quotients, and where the B-seven pupils are divided into eight levels with the highest being composed only of those boys and girls whose intelligence quotients are 120 or over, the supervisor reports that several of the members of the supernormal group repeatedly have to be urged to work. They require more encouragement than do the average members of the lower intelligence levels in the same grade. After trying several possible explanations for this necessity, the supervisor concludes that these supernormals have been members for six successive grades of undivided classes, where they acquired habits of doing only moderately well, where the pace of the average had been so easy for the brightest pupils that they had fallen into habits of work much below their best. Now that they are members of supernormal group, their habits of mediocre work create difficulty.

A person who learned years ago to ride a bicycle but who has not ridden for years, would not hesitate ordinarily to ride. Within a few minutes he might expect to feel at home upon a "wheel." For him bicycle

riding had been reduced years before to habitual mechanisms that abide. How many persons learned in childhood to misspell certain words and have never been able to overcome completely the tendency! Habits are in a way like safety deposit boxes into which thieves cannot break through and steal.

Acquired behavior patterns often last too long; they persist after their usefulness has ended. The farmer, the day laborer, the housewife, the business man, develop habits of working from which they cannot escape, particularly in the later years of life. Unused to reading much or to thinking abstractly, and finding themselves unable to work at their life-long tasks, they spend their closing years in unrest.

A personally destructive behavior pattern is likely to persist until it wears out its victim. On the other hand, constructive habits guarantee lives of usefulness. Even this latter type may become so well grounded that a person often does not respond to new and greater stimuli. Every person faces the problem of forming behavior patterns adapted to present needs and yet capable of meeting new opportunities.

Dependable thinking is habitual. A person's knowledge of anything is an organization of thinking habits. It is only by repeatedly thinking an idea through and by expressing it that a person understands it. This repetition and expression develops dependable behavior patterns.

The process called "association of ideas" involves making a new thought pattern and coupling it with an established one. A belief is clearly an habitual way of thinking; traditions are thought patterns built up anew in each generation. An ideal is a "thought" goal; an aspiration is an unsatisfied feeling pattern. Prejudices are thought reactions, deeply set in emotional patterns.

Behavior patterns give a motor character to ideas. They make possible the release or discharge of stored-up energy when well-known ideas are suggested. Ideas lead to dependable action only when well grounded in behavior patterns. Social stimulation is partly a process of releasing thought mechanisms and stored-up energy-patterns.

Secret thoughts crop out because behavior patterns have been unexpectedly released. Secret thinking includes muscular-neural action and may become expressed in facial expressions, without even an alert person being aware that he is "giving himself away." It is in the off-guard moments that the innermost phases of personality are disclosed.

The "medium" utilizes the fact that thinking, set in habit-molds, may be released in recognizable behavior. The palmist maintains a continuous conversation, partially meaningless to the listener, which releases

many of the sitter's habit mechanisms. When these are expressed in minute muscle movements, the medium "reads" them. Much so-called mind-reading is clever muscle-reading. The slightest changes in the facial expression of the sitter are noted, and safe guesses are made concerning the sitter's thoughts, experiences, and established expectations.

That much dependableness roots in behavior patterns may be illustrated at every turn in daily life. If you have learned to know which direction is East, then you have built an "East" behavior pattern. If some one mentions East to you, you lean East slightly, unless inhibited, for the mention of East has released your "East behavior pattern." Since so many patterns are built up in response to environmental needs, it is not surprising that stimuli from the environment are easily responded to by the human organism. Social stimuli unlock corresponding behavior mechanisms; in so doing they become effective suggestions. Hence, a person is subject to the beck and call of social suggestions.

Behavior patterns act automatically. Automatic patterns supplement autonomic patterns. Both automatic and autonomic behavior take place below the threshold of attention. The autonomic normally does not rise to the level of attention. The automatic develops out of attention, but through repetition sinks below the range of attention. Much of human life is led on the autonomic and automatic levels.

Since the autonomic and the automatic operate outside of attention, they are more responsive to indirect social stimuli and suggestions than to direct. The attention range of human beings is the field in which suggestions act directly. Here they are weighed and if found wanting are likely to be rejected.

Since the automatic patterns are adjustments of the central neural system, not of the autonomic, they are incomparably more modifiable. In fact they are the main centers of conditioning, and of personality changes. Human attention and crisis involve a re-making and conditioning of habitual patterns. Interstimulation always implies a bombardment of the automatic which may lead to pattern breakdowns and to a reconditioning.

PERSONALITY STABILITY

A person with strength of character possesses numerous well-organized and dependable habits. A person is reliable when he has habits and acts uniformly. In order to be trusted one must be honest by habit. The automatic stabilizes. With well conditioned patterns a person is dependable to vote for prohibition or for alcoholism; dependable to try the

difficult or the easy task; dependable to give or to beg; dependable to serve or steal; dependable to support or to defeat child welfare measures; dependable to denounce bribes or to accept them. It is difficult to develop well-socialized patterns; more difficult for certain persons than for others. It is difficult to be conditioned always to respond first to the welfare of others and only secondarily to one's own welfare, or to do good to others without expecting reward or appreciation. It is not easy for most persons to live up to Charles Lamb's standard: "The greatest pleasure I know is to do a good deed by stealth and to have it found out by stealth."⁹

Acquired behavior patterns increase accuracy of response to social stimuli. Observe the difference in the despatch of a group of recruits and a trained regiment. Compare the accuracy of a novice at the wheel in heavy traffic and an experienced driver. Note the skill of the experienced fireman compared with the antics of a man trying to save his valuables from a burning house.

To *learn* is to reduce an idea or an action to a standardized expression. An idea must be not only perceived but be developed on the motor pattern side. A person can listen for weeks to excellent lectures on democracy but probably will not be a reliable demonstrator of democracy until he has succeeded in *doing* democracy.¹⁰ He may believe that he understands it, but only in practising democracy does he get the *feel* of it and make progress toward becoming truly democratic.

Acquired behavior patterns release a person from the necessity of paying attention to the details of repeated action. They free the higher cortical centers for undertaking new tasks. He who has a large number of acquired patterns for meeting standard situations may give his whole attention to new problems. If it is true that a person in the grip of habit is a slave, it may also be true that habit has made him free.

Destructive Conditioning. A person is a slave who has destructive habits. He is under compulsion to respond to stimuli that tear down; hence, he loses energy and that freedom to act which energy gives. When habit is constructive, then energy is both conserved and released, and freedom is insured. Moreover, some habits use up energy to secure a present good, but conserve nothing for the future. Some use energy to promote self at the expense of other persons.

⁹ In the novel by Lloyd Douglas, entitled *Magnificent Obsession* (Willett, Clark and Colby, 1929), the main character, a doctor, has almost a mania for doing great deeds and for requiring that no announcement be made of the benefactor until after the latter's death.

¹⁰ F. W. Blackmar, *Publications of the Amer. Sociological Society*, XIV: 1, 1919.

Destructive patterns of behavior are often acquired in the early, uncritical years of childhood and youth. Unless children are carefully guided, they are likely to be conditioned by the destructive stimuli found in almost any social environment. The ordinary adult finds to his sorrow that he is controlled by some harmful habits unwittingly acquired early in life. He often remains enslaved.

Furthermore, as a person's social environments change, some acquired behavior patterns persist and become unwholesome under the new conditions. Some of the moral conflicts that persons experience are found in the contradictions between old habits and new needs. If a person does not continually revise his behavior patterns, they will bring him to defeat.

The Strategy of Life. To control the conditioning of behavior patterns is the strategy of life. Since habit is organized energy, and since its organization is under the control of attention, it is possible to control the growth of personality through watching the conditioning process carefully. The establishing of habit mechanisms is more largely under a person's control than is any other phase of personality. A person may build new patterns and modify old ones by careful planning. He may select environmental conditions which will help or block the personality changes he intends to make.

In taking an inventory of himself a person may find that his personality is degenerating in some particular owing to certain stimuli in his environment. He may fight the adverse stimuli at the risk of making himself unpopular; he may move out of the range of the destructive stimuli; or he may change environments entirely.

A person plans nearly everything but his habits. And yet, what could be more important? It is a fortunate child who learns from his elders and his peers that he can plan his habits, that he cannot begin too early, that he need never let up. No one can begin too soon in developing socialized habits. On the other hand, narrow, self-centered habits that are established in childhood may be overcome only by the most persistent effort.

The Catholic Church has been wise in taking rigid direction of the first seven years of a child's life. Educators are wise in pushing education down the age scale and in establishing the nursery school. Most parents do not have the proper technique for helping little children to build constructive habits. Their aims may be correct, but their methods poor. The supervised playground inducing children into social group life democratically, contributes nobly to citizenship.

A safe procedure is to form habits of industry, reliability, thoroughness, that is, habits which may be expressed constructively in a number of social directions. Moreover, a person needs to watch diligently his habit-forming tendencies, to seek counsel of more experienced persons, to scrutinize his incipient habits, and to establish the habit of deliberately planning new and useful habits. It is important for a person to judge his own habits impersonally. It is vital to form the habit of criticizing one's habit-forming processes. A universal tendency is to criticize the "bad habits" of others, and to excuse one's own harmful habits. The process might often be reversed to the advantage of all. It is scientific to make the habit-examining habit supreme.

It is not wise to allow all the conditioning of behavior patterns to take place below the threshold of attention. To keep this conditioning process as far as possible within the range of attention is to put inter-social stimulation upon a new and higher plane.

Common opinion has emphasized the evil of "bad habits" so much that the value of good habits and even of habituation as a strategic process has been overlooked. Self-centered patterns of conduct deserve all the opprobrium that has been heaped upon them; but others-centered patterns have not been valued high enough. The latter have been talked about enough, but they have not been rated at their full social worth. Moreover, the fundamental rôle of habit mechanism in directing impulses, in meeting environmental stimuli, in forming personal character, in maintaining social values has not been widely appreciated. The degree to which a person is a creature of habit, even more than of thought, per se, is startling.

Habit is the core of social custom. Elders, parents, nurses and teachers follow custom patterns which to a large extent become the behavior patterns of children. Customs contribute largely to social values and to social stimuli. By regulating the customs which surround children it is possible to shape configurations of personalities. The rôle of culture patterns in children's lives is seen in the wholesale adoption of children of the language of their parents and childhood associates. They adopt thousands of these word-forms without change and rarely add new words to their mother tongue. This one-sided process illustrates the dominance of culture and the strategy of intelligently regulating the culture patterns which mold the behavior of children.

Education is the essence of strategy in child conditioning. At its best it is a process of helping individuals to develop habits of acting and thinking that will be constructive and creative throughout life,

to reorganize personality from time to time on successively higher levels, to understand life from so many different and interesting angles that difficult adjustments may be made with a minimum of disintegration.

The common rule is for a person to wake up after destructive habits have fastened their handcuffs on him. The strategy of life calls for an anticipation of the habits that will be needed for a year, five years, twenty years hence, and to plan now for them. Persons plan for every thing else, for money making, for success, for happiness, but not for habits that will determine what they are going to do with themselves in the coming years. The tragedy of life is to live under such tension that when opportunity to rest comes, a person cannot rest; the strategy, to build habits of both work and rest. The tragedy of life is found in winning success at the price of self-centered and withering habits; the strategy, in achieving, but with the dividends of increasing social creativeness made certain.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Conditioned nature is composed of modified behavior patterns.
2. The conditioning of behavior patterns occurs under the impact of new and powerful social stimuli.
3. Changes in social environments create personal crises and beget new conditioned patterns of conduct.
4. Acquired behavior patterns, i. e. habits, guarantee dependable personal behavior.
5. Thought is organized in terms of conditioned patterns.
6. Education is conditioning behavior patterns.
7. The direction of personality growth is indicated by the conditioning processes.
8. To direct the conditioning of behavior patterns is the strategy of life.

PROBLEMS

1. What is a conditioned behavior pattern?
2. What is its relation to an inherited pattern?
3. Under what conditions are behavior patterns conditioned?
4. Criticize the statement, "He instinctively closed the door."
5. What is the derivation of the term *habit*?
6. How do you explain that speed which is habitual is never hurried?
7. Why is it ordinarily true that whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well?
8. Explain the statement (by Graham Wallas) that the population of London would be starved in a week if the flywheel of habit were released.
9. Why are habits so commonly deprecated?
10. How might you proceed psycho-socially to break a habit?
11. What is the relation of personal habit to social custom?

12. Explain how the conditioning of behavior patterns is the larger part of education.
13. Why is the control of acquired behavior patterns the strategy of life?
14. Which would represent a greater loss to a person, the loss of acquired or of inherited behavior patterns?
15. Explain the statement that "there is no more miserable person than the one in whom nothing is habitual but indecision."
16. Which are used chiefly, acquired or inherited patterns: (a) By a fireman who sees a house on fire, and (b) by a mother whose child is in imminent danger?
17. In what sense is occasional lying sometimes said to be worse than habitual lying?
18. Name one constructive or good habit that you have formed during the past year.
19. What would you say is the habit of greatest importance that a person can form?
20. Explain the statement that human nature is "one of the most modifiable things in the world."

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CHAPTER III

DYNAMIC BEHAVIOR

DYNAMIC behavior is the human being in action. Dynamic behavior is a joint expression of inherited nature and social stimuli. Inherited nature, as already indicated, is not static but dynamic. Social stimuli, playing upon inherited nature, result in all kinds of conditioning. The first section of this chapter, therefore, will carry forward the discussion of the chapter on inherited nature, and the other sections will present new angles of the discussion of the chapter on conditioned nature.

Human nature, inherited and conditioned, possesses energy. Behavior patterns, innate and acquired, are caged energy, waiting to be released. Mechanisms of human nature are like steel traps, ready to be sprung. Human nature is active by nature,—lazy only when nothing stimulates response. Human energy is in part integrated, efficient, well-trained; in part random, inefficient, wasteful. Hitched to routine tasks, human nature being out of its native rôle, grows restless and revolutionary without always knowing why.

INHERITED URGES

In common with many forms of life, human organisms have tendencies to approach and to withdraw. As the *amœba* or *paramecium* encircles or moves away from objects which it contacts, so do human beings. Dynamic nature moves either toward or against. Approaching and withdrawing are the two outstanding marks of life, and particularly of social life—either one or the other occurs whenever two persons meet. Moving toward is accompanied by dynamic experiences called “pleasant” or “agreeable”; withdrawing is stimulated by other experiences called “unpleasant” or “disagreeable.” “As soon as I cast my eye on him, I didn’t like his looks.” “It was a case of love at first sight.” In these two remarks are the Alpha and Omega of human reactions. All interstimulation runs the gamut of these two snap judgments.

Current psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and theories of repressed desire¹ were anticipated in a way by Lester F. Ward as early as 1883. Bergson’s

¹ As developed by Freud, Jung, Adler, Brill, and many others.

elan vital was also foreshadowed by Ward. Repeated inability to respond to moderate stimuli creates a somewhat turbulent state called "desire."² If the organism is unable to secure the object of desire an unpleasant tone results. Desire, according to Ward, is painful.³ He asserted that desire must be disagreeable because the organism struggles to end it. The reasoning is hardly complete. But balked, blocked, or obstructed desire is painful and the pain continues until one resumes smooth progress toward one's goal. The attaining of many objects of desire involves an expansion of the organism. The possession of wealth gives a person increased control over things and persons, which results in an expansion of the "me" and "mine." A person, thus, secures increased attention, recognition, and admiration. Desire may contain a painful element in that a person is temporarily unable to respond in ways that he has been stimulated to do. The agreeable psychical tone that accompanies the actual gratification of desire is often short-lived. To obtain a desired object is often to lose a major interest in it.

It is the aroused but temporarily unsatisfied condition of psychical nature that Ward believed to be the dynamic force in personal and social life alike.⁴ But in pointing to unsatisfied wants, Ward overlooked the internal postural tensions and the behavior patterns which are set for action but do not satisfy the aroused desire.

Personality includes behavior patterns set for action. These projected actions are fostered by energizing tendencies, or drives.⁵ These drives are inherited tendencies; they are energy ready to be released. On one hand they are fed and built up by physiological processes; on the other, they are turned into actual energy by stimuli. They are the dynamic elements of personality.

A four-fold division of these basic urges was made long ago by William G. Sumner.⁶ These "four great motives of human action which come into play when some number of human beings are in juxtaposition under the same life conditions," Sumner classified as hunger, sex passion, vanity, and fear. These definitely inherited psychophysical traits, "or at least predispositions" are made the bases of the personal action and effort that are expended "on both the material and social environment." The results are the similar and concurrent mass phenomena known as folk-

² Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology* (Appleton, 1883), I: 468ff.

³ *Ibid.*, II: 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. IV.

⁵ See R. S. Woodworth, *Dynamic Sociology* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1918), Chs. III, VIII.

⁶ *Folkways* (Ginn, 1906), pp. 18, 19.

ways. Each set of motives is an outgrowth of interests and needs. The first two of Sumner's "motives," and particularly the second, or sex passion, bring the Freudian diagnosis to mind, although Sumner would have been one of the first to have pooh-poohed Freud's deification of the "libido."

By comparison and on their own merits Thomas's⁷ "four wishes" comprise an interesting exhibit: wish for security, wish for new experience, wish for response, and wish for recognition. These are basic tendencies to action that express themselves not in fixed ways but in various ways according to the environmental stimuli. The wish for security has some connection with the hunger motive, while the wish for recognition is related closely to the vanity motive. The psycho-social urges in Thomas's classification take the place of Sumner's emphasis on the psycho-physical.

The urge for security is evidently elemental, primary, and long-lived. It functions behind most of the other drives much of the time. It is offset, however, by its counterpart, the urge for new experience. This tendency wells up out of human energy and especially surplus energy. It repeatedly defies the security urge. The urge for recognition offers a person something over and beyond the urge for security. The urge for response is less adventuresome; its defeat is likely to take introvertive, repressive, inferiority turns.

Thomas's four-fold classification seems to be primarily individualistic. It does not express all the powerful urges. Another urge suggested by the writer in the first edition of this volume is that to aid or to help.⁸ Its object does not relate to self. It leads a person to act promptly when he sees others in danger. Among higher animals there are many illustrations of aid being furnished the young or the injured. A soldier in the World War gave the last drop of water in his canteen to a dying enemy soldier across the trenches. The urge to aid plunges a person into a cold and whirling stream to save a floundering stranger. Likewise a certain portion of daily, commonplace acts is due to the urge to aid as much as to any other single urge. The urge to aid is an elementary drive that may of course become highly conditioned behavior. On the basis of the five urges Clarence M. Case has suggested the term *pentagonal personality*.

Dynamic human nature also has an explanation in McDougall's dozen-

⁷ Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Knopf, 1927), I: 73.

⁸ Century, 1924.

fold classification of instincts.⁹ The powerful inherited tendencies, highly organized, set in certain directions, are, in McDougall's judgment, supported by accompanying emotions, which taken together (instincts plus emotions) make galvanic dynamos out of human beings. If the instinct theory of McDougall, Thorndike, or of others is accepted, a full explanation of dynamic human nature is available.

Another theory of basic urges may be advanced; it is one which the writer calls the thousand-fold, but which has been developed by L. L. Bernard.¹⁰ It is a combined heredity-environment theory. It assumes inherited mechanisms set for action and the infinite possibilities of modifying, enlarging, multiplying, and creating new mechanisms and combinations of them. The organization of energy-displaying mechanisms, in fact, of whole sets of them depends on the nature of social stimuli. The interplay of social stimulation determines the development of energized mechanisms and of the organization of personality.¹¹ Heredity, in other words, furnishes the raw material, not dead and inert, but teeming with

CHART I

Basic Urges	7. Thousand-fold (Bernard)	— Sensitized protoplasm played on by Stimuli
	6. Dozen-fold (McDougall)	— Dozen or more instincts with accompanying emotions
	5. Five-fold	— 1, 2, 3, 4 (as below), and 5, to aid or to help
	4. Four-fold (Thomas)	— 4. Recognition 3. Response 2. Adventure 1. Security
	3. Four-fold (Sumner)	— 4. Fear 3. Vanity 2. Adventure 1. Security
	2. Two-fold	— 2. Approaching 1. Withdrawing
	1. One-fold (Bergson or Freud)	— <i>Elan vital</i> or Freudian wish

⁹ See Ch. I.

¹⁰ *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (Holt, 1926).

¹¹ It is this thousand-fold theory plus the interstimulation theory which will be developed in the succeeding sections and chapters of this book.

energy. These reservoirs of energy are broadly channeled by heredity; they work out into a complicated behavior system under social stimulation.

CONDITIONED URGES

The operation of behavior patterns may be accompanied by reactions that reach the level of awareness. This elemental awareness, known as feeling, is usually agreeable or disagreeable. The expression of energy that achieves its goal is usually accompanied by an agreeable feeling, and is thereby conditioned to further expression. The expression of energy that is defeated is accompanied by disagreeable feelings and sooner or later turned to other channels (unless a "complex" is developed). Conditioned urges take many and sundry turns, but they may be classified as agreeable and disagreeable, with many varieties occurring under each type. A second classification is three-fold and represents an increasing degree of complexity in conditioning, ranging from (1) simple feelings through (2) complex emotions, to (3) long-lived sentiments.

Feeling Responses. Human nature possesses a tonal quality, somewhat after the fashion of a musical instrument. If all goes well, the human being experiences a "pleasant" tone. Health, or the functioning well of the human organism, is accompanied by feelings ranging from a diffused pleasantness to a bubbling over of vitality. Sickness, or the imperfect functioning of some organ or organs, is accompanied by disagreeable feelings, ranging from a slight irritability to severe pain.

Likewise, the successful adjustment of the human being to his social environment is accompanied by agreeable feelings, mounting up to supreme ecstasies. Unsuccessful adjustment leads to mortification and hopeless discouragement. Blocked at every turn one's unpleasant feelings crystallize into a wild radicalism or a cynical fatalism. An unbroken series of either favorable or unfavorable experiences may result in *ennui*. On the other hand, if social stimuli present new challenges (and new opportunities for personality expression and growth) from time to time along the lines of a person's past successes, the result is expectancy and enthusiasm. Chart II gives a pictorial classification of this analysis.

These feeling tones are as old as human nature. They appear before cognition. They are forecasted by the withdrawing or the approaching of the amoeba, by the wriggling away of the injured earthworm, by the purr of the contented kitten. They accompany the responses of an organism to a stimulus. Stimuli which in the past have been favorable to

CHART II

		<i>Stimuli</i>	<i>Feeling Response</i>
Behavior pattern tones	Agreeable	13. Small wants met	Contentment
		12. Overcoming defeats	Cheerfulness
		11. Special help in trouble	Gratitude
		10. Excess energy	Exuberance
		9. Improved status	Pride
		8. Mild adventure	Expectancy
		7. Safety after danger	Relief
		6. Attainment as ex- pected	Satisfaction
		5. Occasional success	Encouragement
		4. Sudden unexpected at- tainment of greatly desired success	Ecstasy
		3. Prolonged dependable success	Happiness
		2. Realization of delayed success	Joy
		1. Anticipated success	Hope
Disagreeable		14. Continued unaccount- able loss	Bewilderment
		13. Continued expectation of loss	Dread
		12. Expected but unavail- able loss	Resignation
		11. Treated hypocritically	Hatred
		10. Taken advantage of	Resentment
		9. Sudden blocking of plans	Anger
		8. Physical disturbance	Pain
		7. Repeated loss	Discouragement
		6. Not responsible for loss	Helplessness
		5. Responsible for loss of status	Shame
		4. Mild loss of status	Chagrin
		3. Absolute loss	Sorrow
		2. Anticipated loss	Fear
		1. Excess repetition	Ennui

the organism or even to the species produce an agreeable tone. Similarly, unfavorable past experiences account for the prompt disagreeable reactions to certain stimuli. If some one were to suggest to you a visit to the dentist's chair, you would at once experience unpleasant feelings, providing your previous dental experiences had been exceedingly painful. The stimulus releases a conditioned (or acquired) behavior pattern built up out of painful dental experiences, and you experience disagreeable feelings again. If some one were to suggest to me a beefsteak fry in the

Rockies, I should experience a highly pleasing tone, provided I have greatly enjoyed one or more such occasions.

An agreeable, or disagreeable, feeling is the beginning of a whole response; it indicates that in the history of the organism or of the species, certain helpful or harmful things have happened. The pleasurable, or unpleasurable, tone is a blind guide, implying but not proving the present value of a proposed response. The fact that certain responses in the past have been helpful or harmful is a prophecy. If conditions have changed, however, the tonal voice may mislead. Before a person responds to his tonal guidance, he should notice, therefore, whether or not the situation has changed.

This tonal or feeling nature of human nature gives a quicker-than-thought evaluation to a proposed activity. Plato had the idea when he said that there are two counsellors in one's bosom; one is pleasure, the other is pain.¹² The pleasurable and painful feelings developed earlier than thinking, and hence maintain an upper hand. The feelings have deeper roots than ideas. They are more largely the inner core of personality. They have functioned in the making of each personality long before thinking gathered momentum, either in the individual or the race. They have been the dynamos that have lifted individuals to the plane where thinking flourishes.

Feeling is complementary to thinking. It is not in the same class. It is inferior in that it is described and analyzed by thinking. It is superior in that it furnishes the driving force of life. If a child has been taught to fear thirteen as unlucky, he rarely throws off the spell, even in maturity. Deep-seated feeling patterns are rarely overcome completely even by years of rationalization. An idea thrown against the feelings by way of argument may dethrone but not overcome them. It does not meet them squarely, for it functions on a different mental level. Perhaps the best way to meet undesirable feelings is to develop desirable ones about the same objects.

All persons are dynamic, but in different connections. Persons are alike in their tonal responses because they have had about the same basic experiences of loss and gain. In human history, some ways of doing have proved racially favorable; others, unfavorable. Advantage creates agreeable tones and may multiply dynamic patterns. Disadvantage creates dissatisfaction, and may result in either innervation or enervation. All members of the human race, irrespective of color or culture, manifest similar feelings of joy, sorrow, anger, and so on throughout the list given in

¹² *Laos*, tr. by Jowett (Oxford, 1909), p. 644.

Chart I, under about the same social stimuli. Despite color and culture differences, the races of mankind are pretty much alike in their feeling or tonal nature.

Feelings have been described as the lowest form of awareness.¹³ They are diffused rather than focalized, as illustrated by the common expressions: "I feel good this morning," "I feel hopeful," "I feel sad." Something has gone well or poorly, within or without the human organism. Feelings are the organism becoming aware of itself, needing adjustment, requiring to be speeded up or slowed up. They are concentrations of energy meeting or reflecting personal and social needs.

Emotional Responses. A complex of feeling reactions is sometimes called an emotion. It may be personality off-center. It is an extensive organic disturbance. In the case of anger there may be not simply clenched fists and flashing eyes, but the whole endocrine system, autonomic system, and central neural system in full and joint operation. Deep sorrow or great joy likewise involves the whole organism. An emotion includes not only feeling tones but sensations, perceptions, and planned motor responses.¹⁴

Emotion as heightened feelings with perceptual connections arises when normal behavior tendencies are blocked or specifically accelerated. Personal conflicts or the settlement of conflicts are accompanied by emotional disturbances. On the other hand, when no problems of any kind occur over a period of time, ennui sets in. Ennui is the dead center between extreme joy or anger and extreme sorrow.

As magnified feeling tones, the emotions with objectified connections often run to extremes and express themselves in wild, blind discharges of energy, or sometimes in a paralysis of organic activity. For example, anger may be expressed in irrational outbursts or in completely blocked motor activities. Joy may lead a person to act "beside himself." Sorrow usually means temporary impotence.

Individual emotions may now be analyzed further. Anger is the energizing of a person when some definitely desired aim is blocked. It is the powerful endocrine and autonomic systems in full operation. It energizes a person so that he may bowl obstacles over. It leads persons to fight, in order to gain personal or group ends.

Joy is an emotion of animation that marks a sudden attainment of some important personal goal. The heart beats faster, circulation increases, the organism is actually larger, the world looks brighter. It engenders a

¹³ L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Holt, 1926), p. 159.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

somewhat reckless organic offensive. Sorrow on the other hand goes with defeat. It may lead to remorse, forlornness, pessimism, fatalism. It involves a general shrinking of the organism and is accompanied by a retiring defenselessness.

Fear develops whenever a person realizes the presence of great danger—to his life, to his loved ones, to his valued possessions. It is a defense emotion, and expresses the urge for security. It may easily become a "learned emotion," being aroused characteristically on the appearance of certain types of danger. It is excited by the strange, the suspicious, the foreboding.

Basic to all emotions is sympathy. It means, feeling with, or responding to the emotional states of associates. An elemental expression is seen in the immediate response of a brood of chickens to the warning cry of the mother hen.¹⁵ Likewise, the vigorous crying of a baby may be followed by the simultaneous wailing on the part of near-by infants, even though the latter can have no conception of the crying of the first child. By virtue of sympathetic emotion, anger provokes anger. If the parent or teacher speaks angrily in correcting a child, the latter's natural reaction is not to obey but to become angry at his parent or teacher. If an adult when addressed angrily is able only by a great effort to control angry responses, how much less is a child able to withstand an angry response?

In an extreme form the tendency to "feel with" others may decrease personal efficiency. It is unfortunate, for example, for a surgeon to be over-sympathetic. At the other extreme a want of sympathy permits one to become "hard-boiled." Sympathy is the key that opens the doors to an understanding of the experiences, attitudes, behavior of people. While it contributes to self-sacrifice and altruistic living, it may become a tool for self-centered gain. Through sympathy some persons play upon the emotions of other people and take advantage of them. Courtship sometimes makes false uses of sympathy; hasty and unwise marriages result. Politicians often gain their selfish ends by exaggerated sympathy appeals. Evangelists overplay their hand in stressing "mother, home, and Heaven." Beggars survive on public streets through appeals to sympathy. Charity and community chest campaigns hold their sympathy slogans in check with great difficulty.

When an important social question is to be settled, the party which is successful in enlisting the sympathies of the neutral public possesses a decided advantage. Every reform measure tries to win the permanent sympathy of the general public. In fact, it must do so if it is to achieve

¹⁵ William McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Luce, 1926), pp. 99ff.

lasting success. Sympathetic feelings "always follow activities, and if the new activities can be established long enough, feeling is sure in time to give them sanction."¹⁶ In this way new social values may be established and social attitudes changed.

Perhaps the most conspicuous social characteristic of sympathy is its tendency to take the part of the under dog. Through its tendency to ally itself with the old, the tried, and the true, it is highly stabilizing, but often it adds too much stability. It ties people too tightly to the old. As a life-saver for outworn customs and habits, it constitutes a stumbling-block to progress.

Sympathy may serve deception. Through it, a person may ingratiate himself into the lives of other persons, learn their foibles, and manipulate them. By appealing to another's sympathies a person may secure ill-advised decisions. Borrowers likewise extract funds that they cannot repay from kindhearted friends. Religion secures converts by playing upon human sympathies. A great deal of false patriotism is engendered by appealing to sentiment.

By sympathetic interpenetration the members of a group tend to understand each other.¹⁷ Sympathy permits an interpenetration of personalities, so that at times it is impossible to tell where one personality leaves off and another begins, or where personality stops and society starts.

Likewise by sympathetic interpenetration, group distance may be overcome, and an intergroup integration take place. As fast as divisive nationalisms will permit, this process is taking place to-day among the peoples of the world. Immigration barriers are being overcome by radio broadcasting. The radio is carrying the best of the culture of each nation to each of the other nations.¹⁸ There is a gradual leveling-up. The time will come doubtless when people will no longer need to migrate, for a leveling-up of economic conditions is already occurring in the Western hemisphere. The best in each nation will be distributed by radio; culture

¹⁶ C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects* (Appleton, 1912), p. 256.

¹⁷ See C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (Scribner's, 1922), Ch. IV; also C. A. Ellwood, *The Psychology of Society* (Appleton, 1925), Ch. XII.

¹⁸ Nearly all the leading countries of the world now are tied together by direct transoceanic radio contact, both telephonic and telegraphic, while practically all nations can be reached by radio relay, G. Stanley Shoup, chief of the communications section, Department of Commerce, declared in an oral statement, November 14, 1930.

First direct communication with Russia was opened on November 13th, 1930, with the establishment of a new circuit between the Radio Corporation of America and the Telegraph Administration of the Soviet Republic, Mr. Shoup stated. The Radio Corporation of America plans to reach the Far East with a direct circuit to Shanghai this month. (*The United States Daily*, November 15, 1930, p. 1.) Pope Pius XI addressed his followers in his own voice the world around for the first time on February 12, 1931.

diffusion is being speeded up. A common world language will be a forerunner of social equalization.

Sentiment Responses. Emotions tend to become organized in relation to values, and to become sentiments. In fact, a sentiment may greatly enhance, or detract from, social values. A sentimentless personality is cold and unattractive; on the other hand, a personality built largely around sentiments is "sentimental," and not level-headed.

For example, there is the sentiment of admiration, or a certain extension of one's personality toward another person who attracts. It always involves admired and admirer, and reactions between them. It implies a measure of curiosity, wonder, self-abasement, and responsiveness. Admiration plus fear constitutes awe, while awe coupled with a sense of indebtedness creates reverence—the highest religious sentiment.¹⁹ A leader's success is measured by the number of admirers and more especially by the quality of admiration which is elicited.

Respect is closely allied to admiration. It involves more judgment and less emotion, more intellect and less feeling. It is more permanent and more rationalized—perhaps it is the most rationalized sentiment. Self respect means that a person has given thought to his behavior and has justified it in the light of personal and social values. Without some self respect it is almost impossible for a person to maintain the respect of other persons, for by suggestion his attitudes toward himself influence the attitudes of others toward himself. A newspaper account of how a certain high official, committed to a penitentiary, entered the institution with his head up and a smile, or how a certain criminal walked to the gallows alone shows how self respect is synonymous with supreme courage.

The available evidence seems to show that Professor McDougall may be mistaken in assuming that we always respect those who respect themselves and that our respect for other persons is always a sympathetic reflection of their self-respect.²⁰ It is usually true that others must respect themselves before we completely respect them, but if the social standards of others are below our own or if their dependableness falls below ours, then our respect for them fails to develop. A person's respect for another person means that he has considered the behavior of the other and has approved.

Pity is a mild sentiment which arises out of sympathy but which does not result in self-sacrifice. The person who pities feels superior to the one pitied. The first person is definitely separated from the second,

¹⁹ William McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Luce, 1926), pp. 132ff.

²⁰ McDougall, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

by some barrier, by a feeling of superiority, of inability to render aid, or of the impracticability or unwillingness to give aid. While pity rarely instigates activity, it staves off cruelty and revenge.

When a person finds himself looked down on or when he falls below the performance expected of him, he experiences shame. Shame accompanies loss of status. To protect himself against shame, he may submit unflinchingly to physical pain, or daringly resort to falsification; he may even choose death. A leader may capitalize upon a person's aversion to shame in order to secure the latter's otherwise unattainable support.

Jealousy develops when one person's status or valued possessions are endangered by a competitor. Jealousy is common among those who have strong likes and dislikes, but whose personalities are narrowly or superficially organized. Whenever invidious comparisons are made against a person, he experiences jealousy. The suitor is "jealous" of all rivals, because somebody for whom he sighs is in danger of being won by another. The egoistic parent is jealous when the achievements of other's children threaten to match or excel those of his own. He is especially jealous of those persons whose counsel his children follow in place of his own. The self-centered jealousy of many artists, *débutantes*, *prima donnas*, "painters of the limelight and wooers of public favor," develops because these persons have hinged their lives on applause. When that applause is transferred, their lives are deflated. Their dying status blazes out in jealousy. As a rule jealousy narrows personality, lowers status, and shortens usefulness.

A more aggressive and sometimes subtler sentiment than jealousy is revenge. It thrives when a person feels that he or some one in whom he is deeply interested has been grievously injured and when the alleged offender does not make amends. It is primitive only because in the pre-legal stage it is the only basis of personal security, demanding at least "an eye for an eye." Because of its feeling nature it tends to overrun its mark and exact a double atonement and arouse counter reactions. It sours the personality which harbors it, and usually undermines social values. When the vindictive attempt but fail to secure justice, they resort to methods which destroy justice, and which create new forms of injustice.

Revenge is often organized into group vindication, and socially deep-seated feuds. With the development of courts of justice, vengeance procedures have died down, but they are still resorted to by all who take the law into their own hands. Vengeance conceals itself in introverted, over-sensitive traits of personality, and lives seven lives in personal, class, and racial prejudices.

Hate and love are diametrically opposed sentiments. *Hate* is an organization of emotional energy against a person or group believed to be hostile. It is less blind than jealousy and revenge, less sly. It does not conceal itself except for conventional reasons. It functions in behalf of narrow loyalties as distinguished from the broader ones. It is more personal and less social in its effects. It is a pathological growth in personality. Its constructive value appears not when it is directed against persons as such, but against evil.

Love is a conserving, stabilizing, but at times a tumultuous sentiment. In its primitive phases it is made up largely of sex impulses, which explain why it may easily lead to sexual license. A higher form is romantic love, which prompts to great undertakings and sacrifices on behalf of the beloved.²¹ The primitive nature of romantic love is shown in its fickleness, its vanity, its narrowness. On the other hand it may reach the sublime in its devotion, inspiration, and sacrifices. It tends toward a conjugal love which develops stability when a husband and a wife share fundamental joys and sorrows together. In the suffering together of husband and wife sensitive romantic love becomes transformed into strong, deep, and abiding conjugal love.²²

Maternal love is the keenest, deepest, and most concentrated form of the affection of one person for another. The love of a mother for her child is the most enduring; it commonly persists despite gross neglect and even despicable behavior of son or daughter. Paternal love is less intense and lasting than maternal, more akin to fraternal love. Filial love is often keen in the years of dependence; it may subside during the years of independent effort, but be revived later.

Consanguineal love ranges from the close attachments of fraternal feelings to a broad brotherhood-of-man abstraction. It frequently becomes idealistic, extending beyond blood relationships, reaching the highest friendship levels of him "who sticketh closer than a brother." Consanguineal love lays the foundations for international organization, and makes possible the socialization of the world.

REPPRESSED URGES

When a neuro-muscular mechanism is stimulated the natural tendency is for the neural processes to run their course and find expression in free

²¹ Lester F. Ward, *Pure Sociology* (Macmillan, 1914), pp. 377ff. Ward was a pioneer in attempting a scientific analysis of the sentiment of love.

²² Even here basic cultural and temperament similarities are usually necessary.

activity without regard to socially operative values. The child cries for candy but his parents say, "No." He wishes to stay up later than usual but is thwarted. He wants a bicycle but his parents deny his request on account of the dangers. A frequent adult reply to a child is "don't," and the child's activity is repressed before it reaches its goal. The child is frequently in a dilemma: stimuli from his environment arouse action; other environmental influences block him.

Stimulated but blocked energy wells up and may either become a "complex" or burst forth in unexpected ways. Crying is a common means for the discharge of energy that has been blocked or has missed its goal. Flashes of anger are pent-up energies bursting forth. Sometimes a person reacts so strenuously to infringement or restraint that he can neither weep nor speak. He may grow white with silent rage or conceal his emotional reactions beneath a calm exterior.

Sometimes such repressions become chronic and do lasting harm to personality. Stimulated but undischarged energy develops into deep hidden whirlpools of feeling that unbalance personality. Inferiority and other complexes lead to personality disorganization.²³ More difficult to handle are the psychoses which result from repressions usually occurring under vicious circumstances.

Sometimes a person responds to repression by "going to the dogs." If he cannot get what he wants he loses courage and sinks. Many a person now panting for life among the dregs of society, once had an elaborate life program, but was hit on the head at nearly every turn. Sometimes a person reveals his repressed nature by developing a "sour grapes" philosophy. Sometimes repression is expressed in cynicism and fatalism.

Puritanic rules of control, to the extent that they were repressive, oftentimes produced a rooted hatred of the Sabbath, of churchly religion, and so forth. Repression does not destroy but leads to a "welling up" of energy which emerges in sullenness, hatred, or recalcitrancy. In its worthy aims of discipline Puritanism neglected the psychology of repressed energy. Churches, homes, and schools, have often neglected the psychological significance of the "Thou Shalt Nots" which they impose.

A boy or girl who possesses a high degree of energy naturally responds to countless environmental stimuli, and his or her parents find themselves unwittingly "sitting on the lid." Through ignorance or sheer lack of ingenuity they fail to keep the child constructively busy and find that he

²³ See such a work as A. A. Brill's *Psychoanalysis* (Saunders, 1922), for illustrations of psychoses of long standing which originated in unfortunate repressions in childhood days.

has drifted into mischief. In rural life field and farmyard keep boys busy, but in cities normal activities are balked. Vacant lots are built upon and city streets become dangerous as playgrounds. Houses encroach on yards until dark hallways and narrow alleyways alone remain as places of rendezvous. Dark places often lead to evil scheming. Through their encroachment upon open spaces, cities are crass repressive agents of youth. On the other hand cities develop sinister influences which prey upon the youth that they, the cities, have repressed.²⁴

The "only" child suffers repression of gregarious tendencies. These impulses are often not adequately satisfied or developed. A self-centered personality is a possible result. Although he has a normal social nature, his environment does not always afford him opportunities for social expression. Hence, his energies are not normally released. They well up in untoward directions, or they may turn into moroseness, self-importance, undue sensitiveness, or unresponsiveness to many normal stimuli. Such a child may demand and receive a surplus of parental attention, and thus develop a chronic expectation of receiving attention. A child in a large family, who has long been ill, may likewise demand and receive undue attention.

A child with a large endowment of energy definitely organized may react to repression by "contrariness." He makes many requests that cannot be granted; his environment cramps him. If continually repressed, his energies become expressed in the beliefs that the world is against him and that all is wrong. Sometimes these beliefs may lead to homicide.

Repression may lead to a super-developed imagination. Balked impulses become sublimated into religious reactions. Religious behavior is often sublimation resulting from broken hopes and defeated ambitions. On the other hand, the imagery results of repression may easily result in fancied wrongs.

Then there is that repression, which is wise discipline whether self-administered or administered by others, with the main actor's consent. Youth cannot have the discretion of age without discipline. All persons need constructive direction; if this need is not met by the person himself, then the social environment will administer treatment—a treatment often haphazard and harsh. Discipline is essential to both personal and social advancement; it can be achieved without running repressive risks, by providing constructive activities.

²⁴For illustrative materials see Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1929); F. M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1927).

How little repression and sublimation are understood may be seen in the practices of stern and relentless parents failing to provide opportunities for sublimation. Repression produces storms of angry opposition, ranging from temper tantrums to permanent disobedience and hatred. Lenient parents and teachers sometimes tighten up sharply on children without warning and promptly lose control over them. It is well to remember that psychic energy cannot be abolished. "If it is neither exploded nor converted, it is turned inwards, to lead a surreptitious, subterranean life."²⁵

Undue repression leads to warped personalities and radical attitudes. Psychiatry offers valuable data for social psychology when it reveals person after person in which the impingement of social stimuli has upset the human feelings and thrown personality off balance. The life histories of revolutionists reveal that revolutionary attitudes arise out of the distortion of personality resulting from pondering over real or imagined injustices.²⁶

Effective human nature is evidently the most delicately adjusted and at the same time the most dynamic factor in intersocial stimulation. It operates now subtly, now rashly, now without control, but always forcefully. It rides now high, now low, but always effectively in the formation of personal attitudes and social values. It is the colorful author of personal and social change.²⁷

PROPOSITIONS

1. Human nature is active.
2. Human nature tends to approach or to withdraw.
3. Often to obtain a desired object is to begin to lose interest in it.
4. The drives of human nature may be reduced to one or extended to include a thousand and one.
5. The instinct theory is being supplanted by the theory of sensitized protoplasm and environmental pressures.
6. Human action possesses a tonal quality either agreeable or disagreeable.
7. Feeling responses signify past experience, either personal or racial.
8. Emotion responses are feelings specifically objectified.
9. Sympathy is the basic emotion that identifies one person with others in their joys, angers, and griefs.
10. Sentiment is feeling and emotion permanently organized with reference to special persons or objects.

²⁵ John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), p. 157.

²⁶ See B. V. Morkovin, *Incipient Revolution*, doctoral dissertation (Univ. of Southern California, 1929); also Lyford P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1927).

²⁷ Lester F. Ward's analogy still holds a kernel of truth, namely, that human desire is the engine that drives the ship across currents in the teeth of storms until it reaches its distant port.

11. Repressed feelings lead to disorganized personalities.
12. Voluntarily accepted repression is discipline.

PROBLEMS

1. Which of the "basic urges" theories do you accept?
2. What does a pleasant feeling signify?
3. Why is it difficult to argue against the feelings?
4. Why are people of different races so much alike in their feeling reactions?
5. How far are the feelings subject to modification?
6. Distinguish between feelings, emotions, and sentiments.
7. Why do children fear the dark?
8. Do you agree with the statement that "one does not fear effectually unless informed."
9. Why is it not enough for a business man to be a sympathetic husband and parent?
10. What is the relation of sympathy to social reform?
11. What is the leading social value in suffering?
12. Should every citizen indulge occasionally in capricious giving? Why?
13. Is it true that one of the first qualifications of a public school teacher is to be happy?
14. Distinguish between the antecedents of sorrow, fear, and anger.
15. Distinguish between admiration and respect.
16. Can a person love his neighbor at will?
17. If a person cannot love his neighbor at will, what is the next best thing to do?
18. Is it true that friends are persons "who have about the same sets of prejudices"?
19. Why is repression of the feelings harmful?
20. Distinguish between repression and discipline.

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CHAPTER IV

DIRECTIVE BEHAVIOR

DIRECTIVE behavior is behavior attempting to control environment or self. Directive behavior ranges from pure impulsive or reflex behavior to pure reasoning behavior. Impulse needs to be supplemented by deliberation, for quick responses often fail when new problems arise. Attention develops when automatic and autonomic behavior fails, and when new adjustments are required. Attention leads to control.¹

When new problems stimulate attention, directive behavior emerges. If there were no new problems to solve, the tonal currents of past experiences would suffice, but the feelings are only blind guides when new situations develop. Sharper attention is needed; cognition comes to the rescue. With feeling tones evaluating the past and with cognition as a judge of the present and a prophet of the future, the individual acquires skill in meeting the problems of life.

As social environments present more new problems than physical environments, directive activity is to a degree a societary product. Its development is fostered by new social situations. Since a child of normal ability who grew up without social contacts would probably not rise above idiocy, an essential condition for cognitive growth is *folks*. The mental activity of a typical child of cultivated parents reflects the effects of stimulating contacts. The term, "high potential of the city," coined by E. A. Ross,² refers to the myriad mental stimuli which daily bombard the urbanite, and which sharpen his wits.

STAGES OF DIRECTIVE BEHAVIOR

A careful examination of directive behavior reveals many levels or degrees or stages of attention. One of the most common is imagining; another is remembering, which plays an increasingly important rôle as a person advances into the complexities of life; reasoning is a high type of cognition, that runs a gamut from the simple to the abstract; then there is what may be called choosing, although the strength of stimuli and the

¹ For a scholarly treatment of human thought about the nature of adaptation, see L. M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1915).

² E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), p. 181.

configuration of personality at a given time explain the phenomenon pretty well; finally, learning, or conditioning, or modification under attentive stress may be cited.

Imagining. By attention, a person can focus on particular objects, events, and ideas. He can do more. He can reproduce them after the original or direct contact with them has passed away. Attending to a new object may inaugurate a new behavior pattern. Imaginative activity involves a setting off later of this behavior pattern. Imagination is usually a projective process, that is, reproductions of the present and of the past and of the known are projected into the future and the unknown. Through imagining a person can bring the past and present up alongside of the future and gain predictive control. Through imagining the known may be laid up against the unknown as a measuring or interpretation rod.

Erroneous is the popular idea that the imagination functions normally when it exaggerates, distorts, or falsifies. Imagination is often driven by false urges, and as such paints fantastic pictures. Through imagining a person may fool himself into taking a false position. Any fact that is not given careful and repeated attention acquires an unreliable pattern; hence, it is rarely imagined correctly. Since the imagination is continually toying with facts that were never carefully observed, it distorts reality and releases whole bags of tricks.

In analyzing her students' reactions to "Personals" from the *London Times*, such as "Jaspar.—Tick Tock. Tick-tock.—Sweetie," Dr. June E. Downey arrived at an interesting classification of types of imagination. Dr. Downey asked her students to select a "Personal" and to write a story from it. The results were classified according to type of imagination displayed. The classification follows:

TYPES OF IMAGINATION

- (1) The inert imagination
- (2) The stereotyped imagination
- (3) The melodramatic imagination
- (4) The generalizing imagination
- (5) The particularizing imagination
 - (a) Reminiscential
 - (b) Creative
 - (c) Dramatic
- (6) The ingenious or inventive imagination,³

This list indicates possibilities for testing the imagination in ways paralleling the intelligence tests.

³ If the reader will set down a list of his own imaginings and analyze it, he will have materials for interesting comparisons with Dr. Downey's classification.

The highest function of imagining is perhaps to make the real seem more real.⁴ It operates alike in advanced physical research, in the abstract processes of metaphysical reasoning, and in creating epic poetry. The public speaker who is popular and interesting puts his thought into sprightly imagery. A crowd, a typical audience, or an average reader grows restless unless the speaker or writer resorts to images. The research laboratory worker imagines one possible solution after another to a problem and tries them out until he finds the correct one. His success depends in part upon his ability to imagine a variety of experiments; in part, upon his ability "to see" new relationships, which is the essence of invention. Imagination plays a leading rôle in those "flashes of insight" which characterize creative work.

Through imagination a person may put himself in the social situation of persons, especially if he has had similar experiences. According to Balzac, the imagination permits a person to slip into the skins of other persons. Without much imagination a person remains ignorant of much of the world's sufferings and joys. With a developed imagination, he can enter the lives of people anywhere.

In putting himself into other persons' situations an individual may react in either one of two main ways, namely, to take advantage of or to promote the welfare of others. In the former case the imagination is a sneak thief. In the latter, it is an open benefactor. It is not enough to have merely an active imagination. Training discipline, and control, are necessary or imagination may bring out its possessor's downfall. A socialized imagining is a process of picturing social situations in terms of the equitable welfare of all the parties concerned.

Remembering. Remembering is bringing to the forefront of attention those objects and ideas which have already been before the attention. In this recalling process there is considerable use of substitute objects or ideas. The sight of a rose stimulates me to recall a rose garden that I visited last week. Remembering involves an attentive awareness that something has been summoned from past experiences. Where attention has been repeatedly centered on a certain idea and behavior patterns have been well established, then recalling is fairly dependable. If, however, many experiences have intervened and much conditioning of the given behavior patterns has occurred since a particular recall has been stimulated, then remembering becomes uncertain. The effect of strong intervening experiences is to modify the recall, and to make remembering treacherous. In

⁴ W. D. Scott, *The Psychology of Public Speaking* (Pearson, 1907), Ch. II.

consequence many elements of misunderstanding and misrepresentation enter into and confuse social relationships.

If a person recalls an event inaccurately, that incorrect remembrance plays a vital rôle in his present actions. It is necessary not only to know what events have happened, but how people remember these events in order to understand their present behavior. Events accompanied by great emotional upsets are recalled longer than normal events; they are also greatly exaggerated and oftentimes distorted to the point of creating personality unbalance.

Many persons complain of their poor memories and even patronize memory training school, expending more energy in trying to memorize (!) a set of abstract formulae than is necessary to remember by more direct methods. All who complain of poor memories are probably using only a small percentage of their inherited recall ability.⁵ A person can usually recall almost anything in which he has become greatly interested. He can develop his remembering ability if he will analyze each new idea or event and relate it to an idea or train of ideas for which definite remembering mechanisms have been constructed. He may develop another practice, namely, of expressing to others that which he would later recall. By becoming interested, by associating, by expressing, and so on, a person can do a great deal to increase his reliability of recall and hence his social efficiency.

Reasoning. Attentive behavior runs beyond the here and the present. Mental action takes into consideration environmental factors present in neither space nor time. It can follow out a logical chain of ideas.⁶ It seeks solutions to which there is no immediate or directly available answer. It shifts from images to symbols; from objects and events to meanings. These processes are reasoning.

Through reasoning a human being transcends animal behavior. The latter may attend closely, may observe accurately, and may respond with precision to stimuli, and may learn. Little or no evidence is available that animals reason except in the most rudimentary ways. Their learning achievements at times surpass human endeavor, but thinking in terms of the absent or the future is apparently beyond them.

A human being may project thinking into the future and solve anticipated problems. He may consider problems centering on the opposite side

⁵ Very few persons have ever had made anything like a scientific analysis of their own remembering ability; much less have they had scientific training.

⁶ C. A. Ellwood, *The Psychology of Human Society* (Appleton, 1925), Ch. X; also *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects* (Appleton, 1912), pp. 119ff. Ellwood refers to intelligence as being a mutation or the result of a "great change" in organic life.

of the earth or billions of miles away in the starry universe. He may evolve theories of evolution, relativity, immortality.

The reasoning process has many types,⁷ such as rationalization, verification, challenging. All of these are supreme agents of adjustment. Reasoning takes cognizance of larger environments than are available to the senses. It tackles the hardest problems of life; it may not quail before those of death. It enables a person to adjust himself to the control exercised over him by a nation, a world, a universe of nature and law. It helps a person to adjust to all his social and universal environments. It lightens his pathway toward a perfected and socialized personality.

Rationalization is not always synonymous with reasoning. It has acquired both fortunate and unfortunate meanings. In its better sense, it is turning a problem over and over and examining it without bias. In its other sense, rationalizing is justifying or finding reasons for one's own behavior. A great deal of reasoning is rationalizing in a supreme attempt to make the weak seem strong, to bolster up decay, or to defend the unjustifiable.

By reasoning a person may not only adjust himself, but he may change some of his environments. He may even make new environments. He may invent, experience flashes of insight, and do creative work. Empires may be upturned, public opinion may be righted, and new culture systems substituted for old.⁸

Selecting. It is possible not only to weigh evidence, but to act in the direction indicated by the stronger stimuli. In fact much of so-called choosing is action in line with the stronger stimulus. Another type of choosing reflects the configuration of one's personality at the given time. In these instances it is not the stronger stimulus, but rather the stronger behavior patterns which determine the choice. A person may possess habit mechanisms which are set off or released by the weaker of two contending sets of stimuli. In such cases, the stronger stimulus has no adequate opportunity.

The thinking processes make it possible to consider conflicting stimuli. What is called "choice" often turns out to be an outgoing of energy in the direction of the fewest and weakest obstacles. Although this interpretation has been preferred by John Dewey,⁹ it gives a negative emphasis, which needs to be supplemented by a consideration of the strength of the stimuli and of the nature of the configuration of personality. In fact,

⁷ R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology* (Holt, 1921), Ch. XVIII.

⁸ For further development of this theme, see the chapters in this book on "Originality" and on "Invention and Discovery."

⁹ *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), p. 192.

strength of stimuli and personality configuration are doubtless more important.

It is true that when we "choose the harder thing to do," we may be selecting a course of action which has immediately ahead of it greater obstacles than some other course, but which when viewed in the long run has fewer hindrances. The missionary who chooses to leave pleasant home conditions for the difficult and dangerous foreign field has a configuration of personality which makes it "harder" to refuse the "call" than to remain at home. The inner urge, the behavior patterns, and their organization, are determining factors.

Often conflicting stimuli possess equal force. As a result no choice is made, or a wavering back and forth results. Again the stimuli may release behavior patterns of equal strength, and a deadlock ensues. When a person wavers and "cannot make up his mind," he may be faced with equally strong hindrances along either of the contemplated lines of action. Or, it may be that the inner urge to act in one direction is stronger but that the obstacles are greater; again the inner urge may be weaker but the hindrances are weaker.

The "margins of freedom in choice" are to be viewed in terms of the strength of the competing stimuli, of the behavior patterns, of the total configuration of the organism, and of the obstacles in the way. Choosing resolves itself into problems in calculus. It is often exceedingly difficult because human attention cannot hold before itself at once all the various urges and obstacles. As the human attention moves from one phase of the total situation to another it "wavers." A choice made in response to one phase of a problematic situation may have to be rescinded when another phase comes to the front. Choosing is difficult because of the lack of standards for measuring each of the urges and obstacles as they come before the attention, for measuring each of these factors in relation to all the others, and for measuring the social values involved.

The margin of freedom varies from day to day, or hour to hour. It decreases, for example, when sickness comes on, when poverty pinches, when the crowd grips one. It is a wise person who recognizes his "low" moments, and provides against them.

Different persons develop types of "choosing." Many people wait for necessity and choose under stress.¹⁰ They put themselves at great disadvantage, and pay for their negligence with many blunders. At the other extreme are those who decide when the stimulus is young and vigorous.

¹⁰ At best, choosing is a term of doubtful value. It is ordinarily used to include much more than is warranted.

Their impulsive reactions are quite unreliable, and they frequently are forced to recant. Others insist on receiving at least some evidence from both sides or from all the main sides of an issue. They aim to be scientific in choosing. Sometimes the evidence is contradictory or evenly balanced and they postpone decision. There may be too much time spent in weighing the evidence, and important decisions made too late. The first and second procedures are built largely out of extrovertive traits; the third, out of introvertive. Doubtless many persons use all three methods regularly, depending on the circumstances, although they are the most efficient members of society who utilize the third method most.

Learning. To do is to learn. To repeat actions is to build behavior patterns. To respond to new stimuli is to have old behavior patterns conditioned. The conditioning of old patterns and the making of new ones is the essence of learning. To carry out new choices is to give evidence of the highest type of learning.

It is in carrying choices into effect that one really comes to know them and their meaning. The experimental laboratory surpasses the lecture room in that it offers so many more opportunities for doing, that is, for putting ideas into action. Discussing is superior to listening, for it provides opportunities for expression. Learning involves activity, both internal and overt. A person could sit beside a chauffeur and watch him carefully but at the end of three months' watching he would not be a safe driver. It is in the actual driving that one establishes the behavior patterns which spell reliability.

The activity traits of human nature have been discussed as "the instinct of workmanship" by Veblen.¹¹ A person is normally active; he is responsive to new stimuli; he is subject to conditioning; and hence is capable of learning. To migrate makes new adjustments and learning necessary. To "stay put," to remain in a rut, to refuse new opportunities for work is to cease learning.

The person who acts blindly pays heavily. He who acts without having a sound theory is pursuing one of the costliest methods of learning. Experience is the greatest teacher, but also the costliest teacher. The modern youth movement is built on this principle. While the experience of elders, of the past, of older contemporaries is flouted, and liberty to do as one pleases gives a marvelous sense of freedom, it defies sound principles of learning.

In part intelligence tests are measures of learning as well as of inheritance. They are designed first of all for human beings who have

¹¹ *The Instinct of Workmanship* (Macmillan, 1914).

learned certain things, who have learned a language, who have learned to use their hands, who have learned to do certain tricks, who have acquired certain meanings of life. Intelligence tests therefore are tests of both heredity and of learning, with an emphasis generally on the learning.

The distinction between knowledge and intelligence is vital, for intelligence is the use of knowledge. One may have great knowledge but be stupid in its use. Learning is not simply the traditional "pouring in" process or cramming; it is far more, for it includes gaining certain techniques and meanings by imagining and experimenting, by doing and testing.

Learning is too often the result of *wishful thinking*. A debater wishes to prove a certain point and then seeks materials which will support his side of the case. A business man wishes capitalism to survive and rates high every person or program that supports capitalism, and rates low all who oppose. A fundamentalist wishes the literal interpretation of the Bible to be fostered and will not listen openly to a fair interpretation of evolution. Wishful thinking leads persons into errors and blunders, not all of which are as ludicrous as in the following case:

A few weeks ago I attended a legitimate play. The audience was noisy, and from where I sat I could not hear very well. A man next to me seemed to hear every thing and every few minutes he would applaud with great enthusiasm and laugh loudly. I wondered why he could hear so much better than I. After a while there was something said on the stage that seemed particularly to please the audience. The man who sat by me applauded and shouted more than ever, "Hurrah, hurrah." Before I realized what I was doing, I had asked him, "I did not quite catch that last thing that was said—what was it?" The man much to my surprise said: "I don't know what it was, but 'hurrah' anyway."¹²

No one can acquire knowledge or become intelligent simply by doing. In all directions it is necessary to project oneself through imagining. While the nucleus of learning is in doing, darts of the imagination penetrate to the outer darkness of ignorance. The importance of remembering can be appreciated if one will think what a person would be like and how he would act if he could recall absolutely nothing that happened before the present moment. Without reasoning one would act as the birds and bugs, without catching any of the meanings of life, without regard for future considerations. The significance of "choosing" is seen when a person is compared with an automobile or other pure mechanism. Learning or the acquiring of knowledge and the using of it intelligently is the chief process of personality growth; it is conditioning at its best. The directive factors of personality, partly inherited but largely developed in

¹² From ms by K. H.

response to social stimuli, may make over both personality and environment.

PROPOSITIONS

1. The rise of problems draws forth a special concentration of human energy known as attention.
2. When established behavior patterns fail, the human organism attends and makes adjustments; and in so doing develops new patterns, and learns.
3. To live in real or modified pictures of experience is imagining.
4. To re-live past experiences is remembering.
5. To attend in logical order to the meanings of phenomena is reasoning.
6. To evaluate different factors in a social situation and to throw one's energies in behalf of one to the exclusion of the others is choosing.
7. To do things is learning; to make a choice and follow it out is learning; to put one's self into situations through imagining them is learning.
8. Learning is the reconditioning of behavior patterns and the making of new patterns.

PROBLEMS

1. Why do you ever think?
2. Why are you thinking now?
3. When during your working hours do you think least?
4. When do you think the most strenuously?
5. When do you do your highest grade of thinking?
6. Does a squirrel need to be more "intelligent" than a fish?
7. Does an architect need to be more intelligent than a mason?
8. Does a child of the tenements need to be more intelligent than a child of wealthy parents?
9. Why is affective behavior expressed more readily than cognitive behavior?
10. How far is self-centeredness due to weakness of imagination?
11. Is the intolerant nation the unimaginative one?
12. Instead of complaining of a poor memory what should the ordinary person do?
13. What is a "socialized" imagination?
14. In what way do adults have an advantage over children in remembering?
15. Does the average undergraduate in the social sciences study his lessons by memorizing, "with the expectation of doing whatever thinking is necessary later"?
16. Is the final examination system in universities sound?
17. Can one think quickly and well at the same time?
18. In what sense is it true that only those succeed who worry?
19. Explain the maxim: To think is dangerous.
20. Why do so few people develop their reasoning ability to its full extent, when it would be so greatly advantageous to do so?
21. Which is more common? for a person to base his decisions upon evidence or to seek evidence to justify his decision?
22. Why do some persons sometimes choose "the harder thing to do"?
23. What is the margin of freedom in "choosing"?

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CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES AND PERSONALITY

UNDER social stimuli, dynamic and directive behavior become organized in terms of tendencies to act, or attitudes. The integrated total of a human being's attitudes constitutes his personality. Individual tendencies to act denote potential personality.

THE NATURE OF ATTITUDES

An attitude is a tendency to act toward or against something in the environment which becomes thereby a positive or negative value. An attitude has meaning only in relation to some value. Attitudes are the subjective counterparts of objective phenomena. Attitudes are as numerous as the objects to which a person responds.

The distinguishing evidence of an attitude is behavior. With no behavior evident, no attitude can be claimed. Behavior extends from physiological changes within the organism to the most overt body movements. As long as the former are not immediately observable they cannot be counted in the picture. Sooner or later, however, they are likely to secure objective expression, at least, in minute forms and may then be interpreted in terms of attitudes.

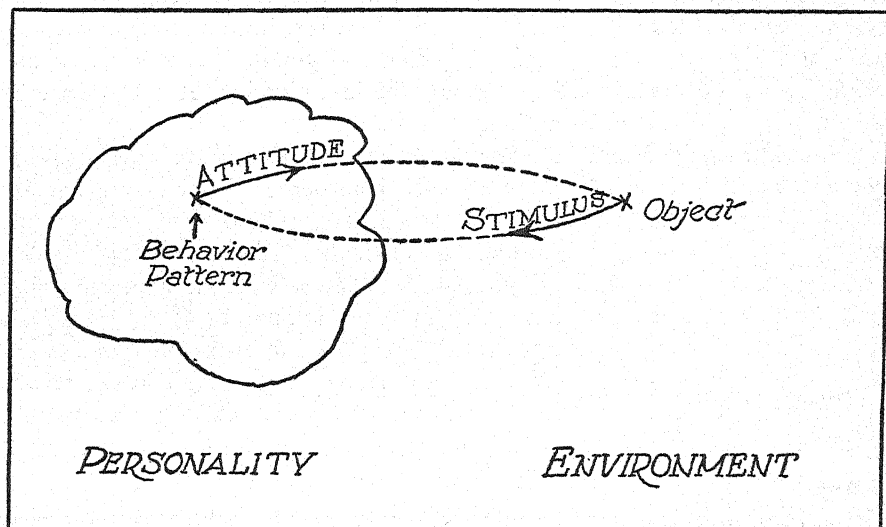
In Chart III an attitude is represented as the tendency of a given behavior pattern (or a set of them) to react characteristically with reference to an object (or person, or idea). The behavior pattern is seen as the counterpart of the environmental object; and the attitude as the meaning of the environmental object.

An attitude is less innate than a desire or basic urge, more clearly defined, more organized, more likely to be related specifically to an object in the environment. Attitudes are as numerous as the prized or despised objects in a person's environments. They represent different levels of meaningful interpretation. A number of persons may hold different attitudes toward a given task, according to the configuration of their personalities. For instance: Three men were employed at the same task in a stoneyard. Each in turn was asked what he was doing. The first said: "I'm breaking stone"; the second, "I'm earning eight dollars a day"; and

the third, "I'm helping to build a great cathedral." To understand a person's attitudes you must diagnose the configuration of his personality, and explore all antecedent and related experiences, in other words, secure his life history.

Attitudes and their accompanying values are considered so important that Thomas and Znaniecki make the study of them synonymous with

CHART III



social psychology.¹ To them, "an attitude is a process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity of the individual in the social world," and a value is "any datum having an empirical content accessible to the members of some social group and a meaning with regard to which it is or may be an object of activity."² When anything acquires a meaning it becomes thereby a social value. The chief significance of a social value is found in different individuals according to their different configurations of personality. Moreover, a social value changes in meaning for the same person from time to time.³ An attitude is the counterpart of a value, and action is the tangible evidence.⁴ Subjective tendencies are attitudes and culture elements are values.

It is at this point that social psychology and sociology merge. Attitudes

¹ *The Polish Peasant in America* (Knopf, 1927), pp. 22ff.

² Thomas and Znaniecki *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

cannot be fully understood without considering culture traits, for without the latter they do not exist.⁵ While social psychology directs thought upon attitudes it is continually aware that values and culture traits are equally vital. The student of objective culture traits likewise keeps attitudes in mind.

An attitude is not necessarily an opinion, for the latter may be repudiated when the test of action comes. An opinion may be "merely a defense reaction which through overemphasis usually falsifies consciously or unconsciously a man's real attitude." It may be a justification for an attitude of which a person is ashamed. It is often a dogmatic assertion based on slight knowledge and representing no real investigation. A person needs to state his opinions with caution.

An attitude is found in one act, but its meaning is not clear unless antecedent and subsequent acts are also considered. No act ever stands alone. An attitude is disclosed by an act viewed in relation to previous acts, in short, by the whole configuration of personality.⁶ Gestalt psychology has made clear the importance of judging an attitude in relation to the individual's whole pattern of behavior. Again, the minimum essential for studying social psychology is found in fairly complete life history documents.

An attitude is either positive or negative, never neutral. What is called a "neutral" attitude is either no attitude or else a condition due to the deadlocking of two contradictory but balanced attitudes. If an attitude is a tendency to act, it must be headed in some direction or other.

An attitude may be either specific or general. The more accurate usage is found in the specific. One may have a specific attitude toward a certain automobile and a general automobile "attitude" of life. He may like a certain person, or be generally gregarious. The tendency to generalize makes an attitude synonymous with a viewpoint of life or a philosophy of life. In these senses, "viewpoint" and "philosophy" had better be used, and the term attitude always given a specific content. A viewpoint or philosophy consists of sets of complex, integrated attitudes.

TYPES OF ATTITUDES

In its broadest sense *attitude* refers to withdrawing and approaching. All attitudes are either positive or negative, participating or non-participating, active or latent, pro-social or anti-social.

⁵ See Leopold von Wiese, "Systematic Sociology: Science of Human Behavior," *Sociology and Social Research*, XV: 104ff., November-December, 1930.

⁶ Cf. W. I. Thomas, "The Configurations of Personality," in *The Unconscious* (Knopf, 1927), Ch. VI, and W. Kohler, *Gestalt Psychology* (Liveright, 1929), Ch. VI, "The Properties of Organized Wholes."

General Social Attitudes. Social is used here to mean associating, taking part in group activities, responding to or against stimuli from other persons. Every person is unsocial to start with; he quickly grows social, or participating; he develops attitudes. He responds to many social stimuli, but not to all that come his way. Of his social responses some are for and some are against the welfare of other persons, that is, they are either pro-social or anti-social.

Social or participatory attitudes are necessary for mental growth, and especially for personality development. Social attitudes, therefore, are at the core of personality. Personality thrives only in the realm of social stimuli, and hence its identity with social attitudes.

These social attitudes may be divided into pro-social and anti-social. To help other persons is to express social attitudes; to block or fight others, is to exercise anti-social attitudes. All social attitudes amount to working *with* or *against* other persons.

Every human being is born into and grows up in social groups, and hence has a social and participating nature. The principle of group priority, described by the writer elsewhere,⁷ means that groups exist before a given individual. The individual in order to survive and develop must respond. If he does not, he remains an outcast—and perishes. He is born into countless and powerful influences and heritages. He is built to respond to stimuli. He becomes conditioned to respond—to other stimuli but not to all.

Since similar group stimuli are powerful conditioning influences for all persons a general social solidarity develops. This common social nature is "a sense of unity or feeling of belonging-together that makes every member of a group seem to himself to be kin to every other member."⁸

Sociality is a background of all human life. It is the social soil in which gregariousness expresses itself. It is this universal social response (pro-social and anti-social) nature which McDougall apparently overlooks in his discussion of gregariousness.⁹ The human organism is so largely steeped in associative living that its social elements underlie its individualistic nature.

Even greed and fighting are expressions of the social or participating nature of mankind. The belief that man is inherently selfish, that he is a product of tooth and fang behavior, that he is natively war-like, ferocious, and savage, received great impetus from a false interpretation of Darwin-

⁷ "The Principle of Group Priority," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VII: 85-88.

⁸ R. H. Gault, *Social Psychology* (Holt, 1923), p. 14.

⁹ *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Luce, 1926), Ch. XII.

ism. On the other hand it is also true, as Kropotkin¹⁰ and others have indicated, that man is inherently social. There is in human evolution a social and participating history without which even social conflict would be impossible.

David Hume, an early observer in social psychology, asserted that every pleasure languishes and every pain becomes more cruel when experienced apart from the company of others.¹¹ "Let all the powers serve one," declared Hume, "and he will still be miserable till he be given at least one man to enjoy them with him."¹²

Isolation testifies to the rôle of social attitudes. E. A. Ross quotes Hume: "I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of themselves when not supported by others," and George Sand: "I care but little that I am growing old, but that I am growing old alone." Even de Senancour, the author of *Obermann* who renounces the world, expresses the wish that there may be at least one friend with him to "receive his adieu to life." Cowper is quoted:

"How sweet, how passing sweet is solitude.
But grant me still a friend in my retreat
Whom I may whisper, Solitude is sweet."¹³

Gifted men who are far above or ahead of their time are likely to be so neglected, misunderstood, or hawked at that in despair they turn misanthrope and hold aloof from their kind. The biographies of genius are full of tragedies of expansive souls, yearning for communion and sympathy, yet finding their offerings ignored or rejected, so that they end eating out their hearts in their loneliness.¹⁴

That solitude tends to disintegrate even the strongest personalities points to the underlying social nature of man.

Gregariousness is a special phase of social nature. In animals it is the herd instinct. Higher animals which live in herds, flocks, schools, packs, covies, bebies exemplify the survival value of gregariousness. Individual members go wild with uneasiness when they become separated from their kind. It is not enough to belong to a group; one must be with his own kind. Many animals will risk their lives in order to rejoin their special group.

Human gregariousness is an expression of herding tendencies. It is composed largely of feeling reactions. It is often expressed in the crowd

¹⁰ *Mutual Aid, a Factor in Evolution* (Doubleday, Page, 1902).

¹¹ *A Treatise of Human Nature* (Oxford, 1896), p. 363.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), p. 95.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

spirit, in cliquishness, and even in class and race prejudices. It rarely rises above instinctive levels; it is often blind but nevertheless dynamic. It is not enough for a person to be with the human kind; he must be with his fellows; with strange human beings he quickly grows lonely.

Sex and Parental Attitudes. The sex attitudes arise from the social interaction of the two sexes. They are built out of powerful innate tendencies which are modified, controlled, and organized to meet social standards and personal considerations. Sex attitudes figure conspicuously not only within the family and marriage, but outside the family, in amusements and recreation, in some forms of business, in the lives of soldiers in cantonments, even in some forms of religion. Sex impulses make the race possible; hence they are deeply seated. Their regulation has always constituted a grave social problem.

Sex attitudes are usually built up surreptitiously, on the basis of misinformation and without scientific guidance. They often fail to hold sex impulses within legitimate bounds. All tribes and races have struggled with this Hercules among social questions. Far-reaching conflicts are on everywhere between the agencies of commercialized vice and the agencies of decency. The occupancy of hotels and apartment houses by "mistresses," supported by otherwise "respectable" men, and the congregation of prostitutes around army cantonments are symptomatic of the lower levels of sex attitudes. The sublimation of sex impulses into monogamic conjugal love and sacrificial parental attitudes denotes the higher levels that sex attitudes may reach.

Social relations based on sex attitudes and romantic love alone tend to break down. Their permanence requires a considerable likeness in the culture traits of the parties concerned. Cultural differences, personality clashes, and dissimilarities in temperament break down marriages hastily entered into on the bases of sex attraction.

The presence and needs of children create new relationships between a husband and wife. Parental attitudes spring up. These range from chronic brutal treatment of children to the sacrificing of lives of parents in toil and suffering. A little child is often rated as one of the greatest of social values, and hence parental attitudes become highly significant.

Without parental care, either real or foster, a child begins the struggle for existence against great odds. With one protecting and directing parent a child has a fair chance. When both parents intelligently coöperate in family building, the children benefit from the experience of two elders, and are protected from the harsher phases of life for a time sufficient to enable them to play a creditable rôle in the give-and-take of the world.

As a member of a family, the child learns about group needs, observes social rules, and acquires a coöperative spirit. Even if the family is not perfect, the child acquires behavior patterns and attitudes which are valuable later in coping with an imperfect world.

To parents, the development of parental attitudes often represents great personality changes. Parenthood prompts to altruistic conduct. Parental attitudes are continually conflicting with egoistic impulses. They would often be worsted were it not for the strong sanctions society has provided for their support. The Hebrew injunction: Honor thy father and thy mother, has served as a bulwark to filial attitudes throughout the centuries.

Taboos upon celibacy, upon divorce, upon immoral sex life lend effective support to parental attitudes. Ancestor-worship has hallowed parenthood and helped to give China, for example, a long life. The attention given to the family enabled the Hebrew race to perpetuate itself and to survive destruction. The sex and parental attitudes together run the entire gamut of life from low brute levels to the highest social and spiritual planes.

Combative and Pacific Attitudes. A person behaves energetically whenever an obstacle hinders the operations of his instinctive habitual or attentive patterns. The fighting attitudes are concentrations of a person's energies¹⁵ and drive him over obstacles.¹⁶ It is usually accompanied by tense heightened feeling tones, reaching frenzy at times, and again kept well under control and displaying few objective manifestations. Anger is often an accompaniment of combativeness.¹⁷ Crude combative attitudes are displayed in the snarl and rush of the dog, in the clenched and pugilistic fists of the boy, in the lynching atrocities of the mob, in the brutalities of war.

Combative attitudes have had survival values. In primitive groups the better fighters survived; the others perished. The "fightingest" tribes were the fittest to survive; all others suffered extinction. In a subtle sense combativeness still possesses high survival value, when pitted against disease, evil in high and low places, and viciousness.

Combative attitudes have been undergoing change. In primitive days they were direct, immediate, promptly destructive. If an animal charges,

¹⁵ Combative attitudes, pugnacious attitudes, and fighting attitudes are terms that are used here interchangeably.

¹⁶ The initial stages of combativeness are sometimes similar to those of repression, but in the case of combativeness the repression is avoided or overcome.

¹⁷ See William McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Luce, 1926), Ch. III.

kill it. If another man hinders you, down him. If a tribe seeks your hunting grounds, annihilate it. A higher level of combativeness involves temporary control, that is to say, a biding of your time. If you cannot destroy at once the person or persons who hinders your enterprises, wait until a later time and then rise up and slay by fair or foul means. Use propaganda against the hinderer. Start gossip; let insinuation perform the evil deed.

Combateness oftentimes has led to the blood feud. If you cannot reach the person whom you believe has wronged you, then kill an innocent relative. Revenge is a two-edged sword; it is likely to slay the one who uses it as well as the one against whom it is directed. Families and neighborhoods become involved, and the blood-feud reaches the status of an imperious social custom.

If you cannot exterminate, then hurt. Torture is extreme combativeness; the aggressor feels a superiority and in consequence administers punishment and pain. Torture is still recognized as an appropriate form of punishment, and as a result, jails and prisons have turned out prisoners more anti-socially minded than when they went in. Torture is being supplanted by the rigorous discipline of work, but not merely by routine, hardening labor. Interesting tasks set up conditioning and reforming behavior patterns.

Although greatly developed in the days of fang and claw, the fighting impulses are being modified and turned into agents of progress. Physical combat developed first; then came arguments and clashes of words; resort to due process of law followed; legislative and parliamentary discussion now reign in all democratic countries.

Organized service procedures are transforming combativeness into social efforts to overcome vice, crime, graft, oppression. Social and educational controls are sublimating combativeness from warfare between the best in nations to warfare against the worst in nations.

The struggle for existence among animals in terms of strength and cunning has a counterpart among humans in the struggle for food, position, power, except that the loser survives along with the winner. Constructive social values are in conflict with militarism and ruthless commercialism. The "fittest to survive" are undergoing an evolution from the individuals of brute strength to the individuals of shrewdness, and then to individuals moved by a rationalized and compelling love.

G. F. Nicolai, a daring German writer, who because of his views was imprisoned by his own government (and who was rescued from prison by aeroplane), holds that the so-called ineradicable fighting impulses are

survivals that once were useful but which are now positively dangerous.¹⁸ The need to transform these impulses is imperative. One species of animals after another has died out before they could change their fighting impulses. Hence the question: Will mankind die out because it cannot change the fighting impulses? Or can the fighting energies be sublimated into helpful behavior?

Combative attitudes have been organized into powerful war patterns, although apparently there are no innate human tendencies "that find their natural expression in waging modern war, which means seeking to destroy at long range a perfectly impersonal and unseen foe, by means of intricate machinery, and for reasons either unknown or largely foreign to the fighter's own purposes."¹⁹ Waging modern war is so far from being an instinct that war "has to be taught laboriously and systematically by such atrocious devices as the bayonet drill," which in itself represents a gross violation of most of man's instinctive tendencies.²⁰

War has to be taught as evidenced by the efforts of "those literary patriots who are always ready to shed their last drop of ink in the cause of their country."²¹

When war is gone, combative attitudes will still be needed to assail not the best people of an enemy state but the evil in all peoples. The struggles against social evils will always demand, as far as one can see, socialized combativeness. When excess emphases on property, territory, individual power, group power, are cut down and combativeness is directed against anti-social attitudes everywhere then a new day may be anticipated.

Rivalrous attitudes are a special phase of combativeness. They develop whenever persons compete for power and possession. We do not feel rivalrous toward a Shakespeare or a Lincoln because such men are distinctively above our level; moreover, they are not living. Rivalry is non-sympathetic and partisan; it resorts to secrecy and chicanery. It plots. A rival is seldom fair, and rarely generous. Rivalrous attitudes attain satisfaction when the holder of them wins over his competitors.²² Therefore they are never wholly satisfied for there are always competitors and new superiority levels to attain.

¹⁸ *The Biology of War* (Century, 1918).

¹⁹ Clarence M. Case, "Instinctive and Cultural Factors in Group Conflicts," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXVIII: 9.

²⁰ Case, *ibid.* Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), p. 113, gives a similar explanation: "Social conditions rather than an old and unchangeable Adam have generated war."

²¹ Case, *ibid.*

²² J. M. Williams, *Principles of Social Psychology* (Knopf, 1922), Ch. II.

Rivalrous attitudes grow out of personal and group contests and create a sentiment of jealousy. They include emulation and desires to equal or excel without attempting to unhorse an opponent. They prompt a person to do whatever another does that wins praise.²³ Sometimes they are kept alive "by the fear that someone else will not play fair."²⁴

Pacific attitudes are antidotes to combativeness.²⁵ Leading to peaceful pursuits they do not attract the attention accorded combativeness. Even combative persons have pacific attitudes. They do not want to fight all the time. They prefer order and peace at times in preference to everlasting chaos and destruction. Pacific attitudes originate partly in the urges to secure safety, to construct, to do useful things, to serve, to reflect. Not only in early life but as maturity wears on, human impulses become organized into ways of peace and paths of pleasantness.

Pacific attitudes well up when shooting or murder is suggested to the normal person under normal circumstances. They assert themselves in the new recruit when war requires him to bayonet young men or kill women and children. The training in hating the "enemy" that the soldier goes through before he can kill with cold steel is proof that pacific attitudes are more basic than killing attitudes. But mankind since time immemorial has built "glory" and "patriotism" around the latter but neglected to glorify the former. Pacific attitudes are still treated with ignominy. Their exponents, no matter how courageous, may in time of war be incarcerated. They may be full of the "do and die" spirit of combative attitudes, but in constructive rather than destructive directions. People have been taught in wholesale lots to take great risks in fighting; they have not yet been taught to take great risks for peace.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Human nature culminates in attitudes and values, that is, in tendencies to act *toward* or *against* some person or object.
2. Attitudes are the subjective counterparts of values, and behavior is the connecting factor.
3. Attitudes are favorable or unfavorable according as values are positive or negative.
4. There are no neutral attitudes, but deadlocked attitudes or no attitudes are sometimes mistaken for them.
5. As a result of being born and reared in social groups, human beings

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁴ A. D. Weeks, *The Control of the Social Mind* (Appleton, 1923), p. 152.

²⁵ Pacific is not used here in the sense of pacifist. The latter refers to an opponent of war on principle; pacific refers to a general love of orderly progress.

develop a general social attitude or viewpoint, a participation attitude, a need and respect for social interaction.

6. Gregarious attitudes as specialized forms of the general social attitude develop with reference to particular persons.

7. Sex attitudes arise out of social contacts between the sexes and may be sublimated into high ideals or degenerate into vice.

8. Parental attitudes run the gamut from a passing concern for children to the noblest forms of self sacrifice.

9. Combative attitudes develop as aids to overcoming the obstacles that block any of the human urges.

10. Combative attitudes minister to the highly artificial and organized social institution of war.

11. Combative attitudes are misused to destroy the best people; they are correctly used to destroy the worst evils.

12. Rivalrous attitudes are expressions of competition for recognition and power.

13. Pacific attitudes serve the cause of evolutionary constructiveness.

PROBLEMS

1. What is the origin of attitudes? Illustrate.
2. Illustrate a change in an attitude?
3. Why has the basic social nature of human beings been so commonly overlooked?
4. Does gregariousness exist in the hermit?
5. Why do the working classes on holidays rush to the places where the crowds are?
6. Why do many professional people seek the mountains and out-of-way places for vacations?
7. Why is the country considered so dull by so many people?
8. Why do some prisoners take a special interest in a flower?
9. Why do people feel "chummy" when sitting around an open fire?
10. Why do little children talk aloud to themselves?
11. For what different reasons do elderly people talk aloud to themselves?
12. Why do golf players talk aloud to themselves?
13. Explain: "It is lonesome to be a college president."
14. Why should one alternate between social contacts and solitude?
15. "Is a college fraternity fraternal?"
16. What are the leading forces opposing the parental impulses?
17. What is the difference between sex freedom and sex license?
18. How far is it true that social life in general does not rise above the level of family life?
19. Is it necessary to get angry in order to fight well?
20. What impulses impel a person to run to see a fight?
21. What is righteous indignation?
22. What has rendered bodily combat unnecessary in order to settle disputes?
23. Is anger a good guide to action?
24. What would happen if the fighting impulses should die out?

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CHAPTER VI

ATTITUDES AND PERSONALITY (*continued*)

THE nature of attitudes, their relation to social values, their division into pro-social and anti-social attitudes, the rôles of the underlying pro-social and gregarious attitudes, of sex and parental attitudes, and of combative and pacific attitudes have been set forth. It now remains to consider acquisitive and work attitudes, play attitudes, and inquisitive and scientific attitudes as representative of the rest. Attitudes are endless in type and quality.

TYPES OF ATTITUDES (*continued*)

Acquisitive and Work Attitudes. The tendency of human nature to be organized into personality units leads to the "me" and "mine" concepts. These involve acquisitiveness which is manifested very early in a child's life. Childhood abounds with quarrels over securing control over the same toys. Adolescence is interesting because of the tendency to make collections of dolls, marbles, butterflies, birds' eggs, stamps, coins. This tendency continues rampant and grown-ups indulge in landed estates of unending acres, in art galleries, in world-renowned libraries. So strongly persistent are the acquisitive attitudes that some persons continue to pile up wealth long after they have acquired enough to meet all their own needs, even to the point of ruining their children's children. The urge for power and for recognition keeps persons at the money game until they become its slaves.

The urge to acquire property, especially land, is characteristic not only of persons but of groups. Monarchies have usually been wild for territory. Some nations, even grasping republics, have spent themselves in clutching at new natural resources. Certain dominant groups in democracies have ruined the latter in the search for money power. When governments become free democracies wars for territory are rare. An international movement, such as the growth of the League of Nations, will justify itself if it can substitute cultural achievements for territorial aggrandizement.¹

¹ For an excellent treatise on international behavior, see G. M. Stratton, *Social Psychology of International Conduct* (Appleton, 1929); also see W. B. Pillsbury, the *Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism* (Appleton, 1919).

Dewey connects creativeness with acquisitiveness. He says: "Speaking roughly we may say that native activity is both creative and acquisitive, creative as a process, acquisitive in that it terminates as a rule in some tangible product which brings the process to consciousness of itself."² Acquisition thus may be considered as the result of activity. Hence as long as there is personal activity there will be acquisition. Crucial problems are: What methods are used in the acquisition? How are other people affected? What is done with the results of the acquisition? The latter question has long been receiving serious attention, but the first and second, only recently.

Group control of acquisitive attitudes when they are entrenched in a powerful private property system is exceedingly difficult.³ Acquisitiveness, once it acquires momentum, knows no bounds. A few persons or coteries may secure the major control of the wealth within a nation and use it selfishly. In consequence socialism and communism gain many recruits from the lower middle and the poorer classes. At once the property monopolists, fearful of losing their control over the situation, resort to repressive measures, to false claims to superior patriotism, and raise a cry against class control—even though they themselves already represent class control.

The fact that English lands have become concentrated in large estates owned by a few and that the farmers have largely become a class of tenants belies England's fair claim to being democratic. The United States began without concentrations of wealth, but has recently seen the growth of gigantic monopolies, of classes with the business class dominant, and of farm "blocs" to thwart business class control.

To solve the problem two leading methods are proposed. On one side, are those who urge that acquisitive practices should be extirpated by the government owning all rent- and interest-producing properties. On the other hand are those who believe that acquisitiveness is too deep-seated to be rooted out; that it would not be wise to thwart these urges even if possible; and that these urges should be socialized by education in the home, school, church, and elsewhere. Undemocratic attitudes and disrespect for law by vast corporate or inherited bodies of wealth are being matched by the dictatorship programs of bolshevism. Either self-centered or group-centered acquisitiveness spells social disaster.

² *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), pp. 142, 143.

³ The literature on the evils of acquisitiveness has become extensive. See R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society* (Harcourt, Brace, 1921); J. M. Williams, *Principles of Social Psychology* (Knopf, 1922), Part II; J. M. Mecklin, *An Introduction to Social Ethics* (Harcourt, Brace, 1920), Ch. XVII.

Property is so attractive and money makes possible so many of the comforts of life and gives so much power and status that together they have become leading social values in Western civilization. Accordingly, acquisitiveness has grown until social control of it has become almost hopeless. Acquisitive attitudes have made civilization possible; they may destroy it. Unsocialized acquisitiveness may rend civilization in twain.

Acquisitiveness has created work attitudes and developed a machine slavery. Work in one sense is not natural,⁴ but under the domination of economic acquisitiveness has become common. For hundreds of thousands the working day is filled with monotony. Opportunities for them to be creative are rare. Their work is stunting. A shorter work day naturally is demanded, and surcease is sought in exciting amusements. When the day's work is full of interest and of creative opportunities, a person asks for longer work hours; he remonstrates when asked to attend commercialized amusements or to spend an evening in idle conversation. If work is routine then automatic machinery is needed to take the place of dumb, driven workers. More creative opportunities in the day's work stop the cry for shorter hours and for more hours to spend in useless or nerve-wracking amusements. More chances to create would usher in a new world of growing personalities.

Play Attitudes. Innate activity impulses become easily organized into play attitudes. Play and work overlap. Both require expenditure of effort, but play is far more stimulating. Effort which in itself is accompanied by agreeable feelings is play. If work involves sufficient stimuli, it is play. The person whose work is full of pleasant stimuli does not wait impatiently for five o'clock, but continues ten or twelve hours at work daily. Work is play if it is interesting and creative enough. Play becomes work to the wearied.

Play attitudes renew life. They rehabilitate and recreate life. They provide relaxation from routine, and enable persons to make wholesome adjustments to living, changing, developing social groups. No person in whom play attitudes have atrophied can long remain well-balanced. Play attitudes are essential for seeing the humorous side of life and perceiving the silver linings of cloudy days. Play attitudes keep personality in tune with life.

As a member of a play group, the child learns to coöperate. At the age of two or earlier, he adds to his parental group a play of two or three or more members. From time to time he acquires other playmates;

⁴Lester F. Ward was one of the first writers to argue that work is acquired, not natural, but irksome. He meant activity that finds its stimulus in the foreseen product.

the original play group changes and develops. Until entry into school, he lives almost entirely in his parental and play groups. The first is composed of elders and perhaps of those who are younger but rarely of peers. The play group is made up chiefly of peers. Together the child's parental and play groups afford him a balance in social relationships. He struggles with the lessons of practical coöperation under varied circumstances; he learns his earliest and often most lasting lessons in give-and-take, in fighting, and friendliness.

Upon entry into school, the child carries forward his play reactions. School at its best is an enlarged play group to him; at its worst, a prison, presided over by a taskmaster. Play and gregarious impulses operate extensively in his earliest school days. He bursts forth from the school-room into the playground. Formerly, in the classroom he studied what to him were abstract subjects, such as "arithmetic," "grammar," "geography." Now the emphasis is being placed on the study of people and their behavior. His own activities and incipient interests are seized upon by the teachers; the classroom arouses activity, work is carried on in the form of play, and routine disappears in the excitement of play contests.⁸

The play groups of a child gradually take on the character of boys' gangs and girls' clubs. Then athletic clubs and fraternal societies ensue. Life is kept nourished through play and social stimulation. It is in the team-work of the play-group that the individual takes hard knocks, subordinates egoistic urges to group ends, turns personal ambitions toward social goals. In this team-play he learns to obey, to follow, to lead, to make the necessary shifts from follower to leader and *vice versa*, to evaluate himself as a group member and to adjust himself to success and defeat.

The interstimulations afforded by play groups are both broadening and narrowing. Both types of effects are seen in intercollegiate athletic games. The broadening results are chiefly these: (1) Intercollegiate games develop powerful group morales. What is more stimulating than eighty thousand or more students and alumni cheering an almost defeated team on to a last minute victory? (2) Ideals of physical fitness combined with mental skills are given prominence. (3) These games afford superior opportunities for team work and involve powerful lessons in self-sacrifice and self-control. (4) Lasting patterns of coöperation are developed. (5) The training in making important decisions under stress of highly critical circumstances is intensive. The narrowing effects, on the other hand, of intercollegiate athletics, are also many. (1) The prevailing centers of at-

⁸ In the leading demonstration schools.

tention of large student bodies are unduly shifted away from study hall and classroom. (2) Attention is focused upon winning rather than upon playing nobly, and values are perverted. (3) Trick plays and deceit are emphasized. (4) A few students are stimulated to overexertion, while the mass remain untrained physically. (5) Bad blood is produced between educational institutions with fundamentally the same educational aims.⁶

With the current emphasis upon a shorter work day and increased hours for leisure, an increasing portion of life is becoming amusement-centered and serious leisure time problems are developing. The pace, stress, and complexity of modern urban life demand that regular hours daily be set aside for recreation. On the other hand, commercial interests are creating all kinds of alluring devices for using up the people's leisure time. Since the commercial urge is to make money rather than personalities, the commercialization of leisure is creating momentous problems. The worker needs rest and recreation as an antidote to tasks ranging all the way from overstimulated hours of business to deadening hours of factory labor, but he succumbs to amusements so exciting that he returns to his week's work more exhausted than regenerated.

Play easily falls into routine patterns, and then becomes professionalized. In such forms as organized baseball it becomes strenuous work, with contracts for players being bought and sold on the baseball market. Charges of politics and graft permeate the world of sports. Prize fighting continually borders on the brutal.

Play is often work made pleasant by social contacts. To perform a task alone is sometimes boresome, but to expend the same amount of effort in a jolly company is play.

A science field trip which would normally be very dead and uninteresting if the instructor and I were the only ones present, is something of real joy provided a number of the persons in the party are my own age, and people whom I know and like. I assume a studious attitude when the professor is around and one of jovialness and laughing when he isn't. I don't care for biology or geology field trips, but when they can be enlivened with my own friends present they are like taking sugar coated pills. What would normally bring out attitudes of work, under these conditions bring out attitudes of play.⁷

Community recreation is a constructive form of play interstimulation. Community recreation where the many participate and where the goal is a combination of skill and art, attains to the higher levels of socialization. A new social consciousness arises and democracy takes on stimulating hues. When a thousand people or more play together wholesomely without

⁶ Cf. B. C. Ewer, *College Study and College Life* (Badger, 1918), Ch. XVII.

⁷ From ms by G. A. C.

profit motives, they develop a new social consciousness, a greater spirit of democracy; they become socialized.

Mirthful Attitudes. Play attitudes easily turn into mirthfulness. Unless they have been conditioned by competition or routine work they possess an abandon which gives way to mirth. Mirth manifests itself daily in the lives of persons upon whom the environment does not impinge too heavily. It is a natural accompaniment of care-free childhood. It appears to be essential to the best organization of personality. It is an indispensable element in social life. It is a social corrective; it ridicules. It is also a powerful socializing force, for two persons who are accustomed to laugh heartily together have developed a bond of unity.

Many of the world's profound thinkers, from Aristotle to Bergson, have pondered over the nature of mirth. According to Aristotle, comedy is an imitation of lower characteristics than those possessed by the imitator. The laughable is something degrading in the object or person at which one laughs—this is the theory of *degradation*. Aristotle does not explain, however, why the lower and degrading factors stimulate mirthfulness; he neglects other elements.

Hobbes developed the theory of *superiority*, which is partly correlative to Aristotle's notion of degradation. According to Hobbes, laughter results from an expansion of feeling brought on by realizing one's superiority over that at which he laughs. But such a realization does not always lead to mirth; the theory is not inclusive enough. Addison named pride as the chief causal factor in laughter.

Kant explained mirth as resulting from *nullification of expectation*. Laughter arises from the sudden transformation of a strained situation into nothing. There is a welling up of neural energy toward a certain goal which is suddenly removed, and which thus puts a person in an unusual predicament. This is a subjective explanation that does not make clear why such a sudden transformation sometimes produces laughter and sometimes sorrow or anger.

Schopenhauer advanced the theory of incongruity. Laughter follows the sudden realization of an incongruity between a conception and its real object. Bergson expresses the idea that laughter is primarily caused by the appearance of mechanical inelasticity in human affairs, which in Schopenhauer's term is a form of incongruity.

Herbert Spencer's statement that laughter indicates an effort which suddenly *encounters a void* is similar to Kant's nullification of expectation idea. Sully explains that laughter is due to a sudden *release from a strained situation*. Weeks declares that "when a man has only one idea, that idea

is as serious as can be; when he laughs he is virtually saying that he has had another idea."⁸ These single theory explanations are enlightening but incomplete. The most synthetic treatment is that by Boris Sidis,⁹ who presents new and well illustrated phases of laughter, such as "suggestion not intended."¹⁰

An examination of cases of hearty laughter shows that a large proportion of the subjects were enjoying at least a fair degree of *health*. If a person has worked long hours of tedious labor, if he suffered serious financial losses, if loved ones are dangerously ill, then it appears that the ordinary causes of laughter do not operate. It is in the most playful and exuberant hours that mirthful attitudes flourish. The joy-in-living spirit of a group of girls easily bubbles over into ripples of silly laughter. The roistering laughter of boys is an expression of surplus energy.

Sudden release from strained situations as a cause of laughter is illustrated by the rollicking mirth of children rushing forth from school with peals of joy. Exhaustion when unexpectedly relieved may result in hysterical laughter.

A sunny disposition is an excellent sub-soil for mirth. A vivacious person is more mirthful than a phlegmatic one. Mercurial persons laugh more than those in deep reflection. One wonders that Bergson should identify the cause of laughter chiefly with intelligence and say that "laughter is incompatible with emotion."¹¹ While intelligence is essential yet children often break into uproarious laughter over something that an intellectual adult would scarcely notice.

Laughter is born of social contacts. Whenever two or more persons who are somewhat like-minded are gathered together under agreeable circumstances, they may naturally burst into laughter any moment; while if a person by himself is heard to laugh long and heartily he is at once questioned, and if he does so frequently his sanity is suspected. Laughter roots in social situations.

A child may be stimulated to laugh upon hearing another child or an adult laughing; certain behavior patterns are set off by sensory stimuli. In the same way laughter once indulged in continues to set off the appropriate behavior patterns and a person asserts that he cannot stop laughing. Sympathetic emotional vibrations create a contagion of laughter.

Feigned laughter often results from the desire to maintain status.

⁸ *The Control of the Social Mind* (Appleton, 1923), p. 177.

⁹ *The Psychology of Laughter* (Appleton, 1913).

¹⁰ For other interesting discussions of laughter, see Sully's *An Essay on Laughter* (Longmans, Green, 1907), and Bergson, *Laughter* (Macmillan, 1914).

¹¹ *Laughter*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 139.

One may laugh in order to appear interested. Even though an incident or story may not seem humorous to him, he laughs out of respect for the host or speaker, in order to be considered like others, in order not to be conspicuous, in order to be courteous, in order not to lose status. The listener may fail to catch the point of a story or a situation, but joins heartily in group laughter in order not to seem stupid or disinterested. When others are enjoying what is to them a choice bit of comedy, a person laughs in order not to be judged stolid.

Mirth is occasionally assumed in order to cover up an insult. A person does not want to acknowledge that he has been treated disrespectfully, and so will parry the thrust with a laugh. By way of meeting an embarrassing situation or an impertinent question in the presence of spectators, a person may "laugh the matter off." Thus, he saves his "face" or status. He sublimates feelings of anger or shame into a laugh which conceals his deeper reactions. The sublimation of energy into a few short, explosive laughs sometimes gives a person necessary relief and enables him to act more rationally. The laugh also implies that the situation is not as grave as the antagonist would have the spectators believe. A person saves his status by pretending through laughter that it has not been harmed.

Mirthful attitudes are sometimes shammed in order to cover up pain. A four-year-old boy jumped up after a hard fall, rubbed his bleeding knee, and laughingly said through his tears: "Wasn't that a joke on me?" A person may for the time dismiss a broken bone or seriously strained ligament with a laugh. The laugh sidetracks attention until a person can gain his poise again.

Some children and adults also will indulge in laughter in order to attract attention. The girl who laughs the loudest may be the one who is wearing the bright new ribbon or the latest fad in sweaters, or the boy who laughs above the boisterous behavior of the "gang" may be a candidate for hero-worship.

Professional laughter is an art. It is the laughter of the entertainer on the stage platform, or over the radio. If he simulates laughter well enough, others by reflex actions will translate his feigned behavior into actual laughter. Mark Twain acquired such a reputation as a humorist that he could not speak seriously from the platform without the audience responding with hearty laughter.

Mirthful attitudes are stimulated most frequently by incongruous actions and ideas. Incongruity consists in the awkward, and the mechanical in the place of the artistic, the inelastic in place of the elastic. A dignified man

runs after his wind-blown hat, a boy with a basket of eggs falls down, a sober-looking dog walks into a college classroom, filled with students. The Charlie Chaplin films succeeded because of the incongruities. The humor in *A House-Boat on the Styx* springs from the incongruous juxtaposition of famous personalities and events. The dignified person who falls, falls hard, not gracefully.

Incongruities are represented by illogical statements such as those found in the Pat and Mike stories; by grammatical and rhetorical errors; by idiomatical mistakes, such as those by travellers in a foreign land; by plays on words, puns, overstatement or understatement that is moderate and implied. Lying is not humorous for it deliberately harms. Incongruity is illustrated by a sudden shift from the serious to the ridiculous, as in the case of Pat who upon being upbraided for not showing more intelligence explained: "I was a bright man at birth but when I was a few days old, my nurse exchanged me for another baby who was a fool."¹²

Unintended suggestion is another form of incongruity, as found in the lengthy services announced by a certain church: "The regular services will commence next Sunday evening and continue until further notice." One day two opposing lawyers in court became angry at each other and one pointing to the other, said: "That attorney is the ugliest and meanest man in town." "You forget yourself, you forget yourself, Mr. Smith," said the court, rapping for order with his gavel.

There is derisive laughter, where a person who is out of step with cherished plans is made fun of, in order to bring him into line. There is the ironical laugh which is induced by covert satire. There is sarcastic and biting laughter. There is laughter that makes the proper seem out of place. Laughter that ridicules is powerful and dangerous. It is an outstanding mechanism of social control; it is likely to be used by unscrupulous persons for anti-social ends. It sometimes defeats worthy candidates for public office.

Repartee occurs when a person who makes another to appear ridiculous is playfully put into a ridiculous position himself. It involves an intellectual promptness and comeback, akin to wit. A lawyer said of the attorney who opposed him: "He is so small that I could put him in my pocket." But the opposing attorney promptly shouted back: "If you did, you'd have more brains in your pocket than in your head," and reversed the tide of invidious laughter.

Wit leads to laughter by pointing out subtle incongruities. It involves

¹² See Boris Sidis, *The Psychology of Laughter* (Macmillan, 1913) for a large number of well selected illustrative stories.

sharp thinking. It is quick. If delayed, time dulls the force of the incongruity. It is likely to be cutting and to create hard feelings.

Humorous laughter is good-natured. It points to personal weaknesses, but sympathetically. It is indirect, gentle, and corrects without engendering ill will.

The laughter of a group concerning any incongruity in an individual member's conduct may be spontaneous. The error is easily discernible, and the spontaneous group laughter is embarrassing to the victim. It is experienced so unexpectedly that a person is likely to lose his self-control for the time being. Then there is the implication that the mistake is evidently simple, and that it should not have been made; it reflects upon the mental ability of the blunderer.

Group laughter may be delayed. If the individual's error is deep-seated, it may not be detected immediately. Thus the individual is given time to recognize his own mistake and to prepare himself for withstanding the group's mirth. The fact that the group does not recognize the mistake at once implies that its subtlety partly excuses the making of it.

Then there is concerted laughter. Sometimes the group is prejudiced against an individual, and organizes to embarrass him and his cause. Concerted laughter usually is malicious. A person reacts against it because of the disadvantage to which it puts him. He experiences a sense of injustice, of isolation, and of anger. He fights back.

To let others laugh at one's self, either in a spontaneous, delayed, or concerted way is but one angle of the story. There are the aggressive attitudes of those who do the laughing. It is easy upon seeing the incongruities of other persons to burst into exclamation and laughter, but unrestrained laughter at others is rudeness. It creates social distance.

Then there is the phenomenon of laughing publicly at one's self, and of encouraging others to do so, also. To let others laugh at your blunders requires self-control. By seeming to enjoy the group's laughter at your expense, you bifurcate yourself—your stronger self laughs at your weaker self. If you can publicly let others chuckle aloud at your expense, then you have reached a superior level of self discipline. You may allow the group to discipline you by its mirth. The group at times likes to lower its leaders to its own level. It also enjoys identifying the weaknesses of its leaders with its own foibles. Many a public speaker has won his cause by telling good stories on himself. William Howard Taft delighted his audiences by calling himself "the worst licked man who ever ran for President," and William Jennings Bryan never failed to win

a response by referring back to 1896 when he "first began running for the Presidency."

Social laughter is a corrective. It arouses fear, "restrains eccentricity," and prevents persons from straying far from group values. It is a patent means of group tyranny; it sometimes produces conformity however, where conformity is of no use to the group but is costly to the individual, for example, "ridicule of the shiny elbows of the janitor."

Social laughter prevents groups from becoming mechanically inelastic. It helps the members to keep "in touch" with each other. When persons laugh together, they are likely to feel more kindly toward one another. Laughter unites those who laugh together, but not those who laugh at each other. (1) A laughs at C, which usually will irritate C; (2) A and B laugh at C, with the result that A and B feel more alike, while C may feel ostracized; (3) C gives A and B a chance to laugh at him, for example, "tells one" on himself, which causes A and B to feel kindlier toward him and to unify all three. Mirthfulness heightens the group tone; many a tense social situation is relieved by a humorous sally.

On the other hand, one who would voice a strange idea, no matter how worthy, must brave group laughter; and by standing out against the group, becomes individualized. Mirthfulness is often contradictory to sympathy. If one puts himself completely in the place of others, he will rarely laugh.

Mirthful attitudes have survival values; they recreate personality. They shake a person up, relax him, relieve his dull moments, cancel his blunders, and restore a personality equilibrium. They are open sesame to good will; they prevent a person from taking himself too seriously; they restore the fellowship of group life. They are among the most useful assets for participation in intersocial stimulation.

Inquisitive and Scientific Attitudes. Native human energy is stimulated into activity by phenomena that are a bit new or different. The *usual* does not attract special attention; the *wholly unusual* naturally startles and paralyzes or terrifies. The *somewhat different* releases human energy. The element of instinct in this process, it would seem, has been overemphasized by McDougall.¹⁸ The urges for new experience are quick to leap into inquisitive activities.

Animals that are attracted by very strange sounds may be decoyed, and sooner or later succumb. Those individuals either animal or human, which are never aroused by anything new remain mediocre or retrograde. Those who respond to stimuli that are moderately strange escape decadence

¹⁸ *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Luce, 1926), pp. 57ff.

and yet manage to avoid destruction.¹⁴ Individuals who are reasonably inquisitive usually survive best. Inquiring and hunting patterns have survived through the ages. We still use the hunting vocabulary, even though hunting has taken on complicated expressions. For example: "We hunt for lost articles and 'fish' for compliments. A man 'hunts' a job. People make 'killing' remarks."¹⁵ People "search" the heavens for new stars, and "look" the world over for new experiences.

Human society seems to prefer persons with moderately inquiring tendencies. He who is overly inquiring is pronounced "nosey" and warned to cease his meddling. He who never asks questions is rated as "dumb." A discouragement in teaching is the pupil who never asks questions and who is unresponsive. He who attends to his own affairs and yet maintains an alert, active, open mind regarding the world about him is usually rated highest.

Inquisitive attitudes find expression in gossip at one extreme and in scientific research at the other. Gossip expresses inquisitiveness in its simplest and least intelligent forms, while research is inquisitiveness in its profoundest aspects. Edison's achievements are the results of overwhelming urges to find solutions to laboratory problems. Finding answers to problems represents inquisitiveness at its best. Finding answers is inquisitiveness turned into scientific procedure.

Scientific inquisitiveness will not permit a person to jump to conclusions, to utter dogmatic opinions, or to surrender to crowd emotions.¹⁶ Scientific attitudes mean independent thinking, discriminating, experimenting, testing by objective methods until truth, the truth that is in both nature and personal experiences, in the back of persons' heads, is brought out into the open and analyzed.

Scientific inquisitiveness has led to knowledge, education, schools, research laboratories. It is generic to invention and discovery, to leadership, to research. It is the best guarantee against human errors. Its chief strength as well as weakness is its slowness to achieve results and its impersonal indifference.

¹⁴ A highly disturbing form of the moderately strange is found in "signs of concealment or stealth" which immediately arrest attention and arouse inquisitiveness and fear or both.

¹⁵ A. D. Weeks, *The Control of the Social Mind* (Appleton, 1923), p. 147.

¹⁶ A. B. Wolfe, *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method* (Macmillan, 1923), p. 10.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Acquisitive attitudes arise out of the urges for security and for recognition.
2. Acquisitive attitudes give one person power over others.
3. Acquisitive attitudes have grown so strong in the world to-day that social conflicts have developed over the best methods of controlling them.
4. The struggle between capitalism and communism (or socialism) is a conflict over acquisitive attitudes.
5. Work attitudes range from remonstrances against routine tasks to joyous participation in creative activities.
6. Play attitudes are the products of energy and highly interesting stimuli and are accompanied by agreeable feelings.
7. Play attitudes keep personality in tune with life.
8. If work contains enough interesting stimuli it is treated as play.
9. Mirthful attitudes evolve out of energy, and the recognition of mildly incongruous situations.
10. Important variations of mirthful attitudes are represented by humor, wit, repartee, and ridicule, with each possessing its own specific social meanings.
11. Group laughter is a powerful form of social control.
12. Group laughter is both a social corrective and a socializing agent.
13. Inquisitive attitudes arise out of somewhat new but not totally new experiences.
14. Scientific attitudes are inquisitive attitudes highly organized and carefully controlled on impersonal bases.

PROBLEMS

1. Why is it work for a mason to pile up bricks, and play for a small boy to pile up blocks?
2. Why is work hard and play easy to a child even when the latter requires the expenditure of more energy?
3. Why is it play to a boy to clear brush from a lot for a baseball diamond and work to clear the same lot at his parent's command?
4. When is work play?
5. When is play work?
6. Beyond what limits is it anti-social to develop acquisitive attitudes?
7. Why do "some men begin to enjoy giving away, late in life, what they have given their best years to accumulate"?
8. Why is mirth a subject important enough for serious discussion?
9. Why is it worth while to develop the habit of seeing the humorous side of life?
10. What is Shakespeare's meaning when he speaks of being "stabbed with laughter"?
11. To what does Milton refer when he writes of "laughter holding both his sides"?
12. Why do we laugh at the incongruous or degrading experiences of others instead of feeling grieved?
13. Why is a city dude in the country a mirth-producing object?
14. Why is a "hayseed" in the city an even more comical object?
15. Explain how laughter kills innovations.
16. Why is man more afraid of social ridicule than of physical punishment?

17. Explain: "The true hero is one who can ignore social laughter."
18. Why do people never laugh at stories which involve stuttering or which describe the antics of an intoxicated person?
19. Why does a wry face that simulates pain produce laughter?
20. Why does the entrance of a sober-looking dog into a lecture room filled with college students create a mirthful outbreak?
21. Why is a trivial interruption that occurs during a prayer service sometimes laughable?
22. To what type of persons is the comic sheet most laughable?
23. What is the difference between the laughable and the silly?
24. Why is it laughable to see the waves dash unexpectedly over a person who is walking along the beach?
25. Why did audiences laugh heartily even at the most serious remarks of Mark Twain?
26. Why are deaf people and not blind people used in comedies?
27. Why does a person never tire of telling his own jokes?
28. What is the relation between curiosity and scientific research?
29. What is the chief value and the chief weakness in inquisitiveness?
30. Why is scientific research so fascinating to some persons and so uninteresting to many others?
31. How far is science "impersonal"?
32. Why is science "impersonal"?
33. What is the chief weakness of "impersonal" scientific studies?

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CHAPTER VII

STATUS AND PERSONALITY

A PERSON'S attitudes are molded by group evaluations. These evaluations give a person status. They make or break personality. Status is a person's most valued possession. Without it he has no friends, no place in a world of fellowship; he is a nobody, a human being but not a person. If we acquire status, we become persons, Park and Burgess state.¹ We are socially nothing without status. It is better to have a negative status than to have none at all for negative status means that somebody notices you.

Status denotes social position.² A human being does not know his status until he attempts to do something in human society. Then he is assigned a social rank. In competition with other human beings, he sinks or rises, and his status becomes defined. Status denotes social relationships.

Wherever a person turns, he sees himself reflected in the estimates of other persons.³ Friends, strangers, and enemies constitute different types of social mirrors. Of course the reflection is rarely correct; it varies with the nature of the different reflectors. A friend looks through the small end of a telescope at a person's virtues and through the large end at his vices. He extols the one; excuses the other. A rival or foe distorts one's traits, while a stranger reflects blurred images. Every person moves continually among social mirrors, and status turns out to be a series or a composite of reflections of social values.

The attitudes of each person are continually conditioned by the opinions of other persons and especially by the reflections of himself that he thinks he sees in the reactions of others. He may be easily misled by the too favorable reflections from his friends and thus become too satisfied with himself. He may be plunged into despondency by the false impression propagated by opponents that he is a failure. He may suffer

¹ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 574.

³ The earliest extended analysis of this point was made by Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (Scribner's, 1902), pp. 152, 164ff. Cooley developed the idea under the concept of "the looking-glass self."

strenuous mental conflict from being torn between the praise of friends and the sneers of opponents. He must, therefore, be on his guard against delusion. At every turn his attitudes are influenced by the more or less distorted images of himself reflected by his fellows.

CONDITIONS OF STATUS

The struggles for medals, honors, position are partly due to efforts to improve status. To win promotion means the favorable glances of friends and unfortunately the jealous slurs of competitors. A military officer reports that a grave weakness of the army and navy is the mania to be promoted. Because he rises in the estimation of others, the officer seeks advancements in rank.

At first many a recruit has cared nothing for his regiment. After a few weeks of training he values highly his comrades' opinions of himself. Within a few months he becomes not only willing but anxious to hazard his life for his regiment. At first he ignored the judgments of his fellow "rookies," but shortly he came to value these judgments above all else. This change in attitudes comes about because he has *changed groups*. When he first entered the regiment it was a foreign group to him. As the members of the regiment changed from strangers to comrades their judgments of him became his supreme concern.

"Watch the change as the column, marching at route step, swings into some small French town where children and an old woman or two observe the passing army," said the officer of a colored regiment in the World War. "Every man swings into step, shoulders are thrown back, and extra distances between ranks close automatically. *Some one is watching them.*" Among these soldiers there was one "who stowed somewhere about him for these occasions a battered silk hat. We let him wear it in small towns! The inhabitants stared at him and laughed. He was happy and made the whole company happy." In this instance, the colored soldier imagined his status to be higher than it really was; he enjoyed greatly these exaggerated impressions, and no harm was done.

College athletes explain how the reflections of themselves in the eyes of the spectator crowd are impelling. In the hope of election to an honor society some students are stimulated, not because of the scholarship advantages to be gained, but because of the status which is anticipated. Such responses explain the strong objections that some educators feel toward prizes, medals, awards. These recognitions and the accruing status become the goal rather than self improvement or social advance-

ment. "Winning" is emphasized unduly while "playing well" is overlooked.

Courtship is often a status game. A young man who does not approve of missions attends a church service in order to please a young woman who is interested in missionary enterprises. When subscriptions are taken he contributes in order to gain status in her eyes. Reforming a suitor often consists in temporary accommodations to the wishes of the maiden. After marriage the "reformed" party reverts to his real attitudes.

Personal solicitation in behalf of a cause is more effective than long distance solicitation. It is harder to refuse directly than at a distance, for a person feels more keenly the risk of loss of status. A person who is an arbiter of social status is especially effective as a solicitor for almost any cause.

A business man boasts of a shrewd transaction to an approving friend. Talking with another friend of stricter principles, he refrains from mentioning the questionable action. In both cases, status was the main desideratum.

A politician gives freely to charity in order to gain status from his townspeople. Scheming to acquire status in order to satisfy egoistic impulses is bad enough but not so bad as such scheming in order to wield power and advantage over other people. Yet both procedures are common and elaborate techniques have been worked out.

A man planned to make a gift of one hundred dollars to a worthy enterprise but inadvertently lifted his hand to his head when five hundred dollar gifts were being called for. The hand was seen and his large donation was announced amid tremendous applause. He allowed the large subscription to stand rather than to lose the greatly enhanced status that he had so unexpectedly acquired. Hence, the hope of cutting a superior figure stimulates a person to be more generous than he would naturally be.

People often find themselves in situations where they must keep up appearances. A status higher than they deserve often draws them into ridiculous situations. Sometimes a whole social group thus will deceive themselves:

Several months ago, I went to a meeting of one of the larger women's clubs in the city with my aunt and several of her friends. The lecture was on Chaucer and Old English. All of us appeared very much interested, but the outward expression of what was supposed to be a favorable attitude was merely a bluff. After the lecture all the women were commenting and saying how wonderful the lecture had been. However, on the way home, I asked several questions concerning it, and the ladies admitted that they hardly knew what the man had been explaining. I didn't want to admit that I had not en-

joyed the lecture, when everyone else appeared to be so favorably impressed, but afterwards I realized that most of those women, the same as myself, were wishing that they had been some place else.⁴

In Rome a person does as the Romans do, thereby garnering approving glances and smiles and preventing scowls and a punctured status. A wide-awake immigrant sometimes adopts the ways of his adopted country—impelled by status considerations. Race prejudice arises out of loss of status. A public school teacher states:

As a child of five I became acquainted in the kindergarten with a colored boy. Our friendship grew rapidly. I admired the black face and the small, tight curls. One day my father laughed heartily at me when he saw me with my colored playmate. I felt hurt and thereafter avoided the colored boy through the unpleasant reflection in my father's eyes of my association with the Negro child.⁵

Inferiority Complex and Status. Inferiority complexes are often the result of low status. A child or adult tries to do well and fails; he receives half-hearted compliments, or is pitied; he may be openly laughed at or sneered at: status has been bowled over and an inferiority complex springs up. Without knowing it, many persons go to extreme lengths to ward off inferiority complexes by taking extreme measures in order to safeguard status. They go to extreme measures in order "to save face."

"It takes all my income," said a certain congressman, "to keep up with my fool neighbors."⁶ We spend a great deal of money, not for things we actually need, but to keep up appearances and hence to guarantee status. Fashion racing⁷ cannot be explained without reference to a highly competitive struggle for status.

A housewife who could not afford to use ice secured an ice-card and put it in the window, but always after the ice wagon had passed her house. She wanted her neighbors to think that she bought ice. In this way the world of pretense and sham has been built up—chargeable always to the urge to cut a fine figure in the estimates of neighbors.

The self respect of a person often depends on maintaining the respect of other people.⁸ If he loses the esteem of his friends, he is likely to lose his own self respect. "I would enjoy riding a bicycle," says a middle-

⁴ From ms by L. C.

⁵ From ms by N. K.

⁶ T. N. Carver, *Principles of National Economy* (Ginn, 1921), p. 70.

⁷ See the chapter on "Fashion" for an explanation of this process.

⁸ E. A. Ross holds that self-consciousness is our consciousness of others, but of others, however, as noticing and appraising one's self. *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), pp. 105ff.

aged woman, "but the reflection of myself in the eyes of my friends would be unfavorable and hence I abstain." Personal conduct is touched up at certain points because of desire for status.

Children and Status. Children are especially subject to the social judgments concerning themselves. If these are favorable, egos are inflated; if unfavorable, inferiority complexes are initiated or aggravated. A striking case is given by E. W. Burgess.⁹

One day when Mary was eleven years old, she and her two neighbors attended a birthday party. When it came time to choose partners for the supper party every girl was provided for except Mary. The hostess said to the odd little boy (the rest were already paired off): "Now, Jimmy, there's Mary, take her." Jimmy sullenly replied: "That homely old pug-nosed thing? I guess not." Mary's dreams were shattered—her little ship had gone on the rocks. She was hurt, terribly wounded. Needless to say, that was the last party she attended. Her two sisters laughed at the incident, and made fun of her at home. This aggravated her still more.

Mary made few friends; she felt herself odd, out of the group. She developed a taste for reading, and built about herself a world of her own, in which she and the "nice" characters in the books lived in an atmosphere of rosy pleasantness. She would have little to do with her family—they received none of her confidences—and she made no friends. This sensitive little girl withdrew into a world of her own making and there found the happiness which she longed for.

For a similar reason many a school child will study not to learn but to recite well in the eyes of his teacher. The sudden interest of the growing adolescent boy in the cleanliness of his neck and ears is a sure sign that he is solicitous about his status in the eyes of some girl. His mood changes from dejection to hilarity as his status goes up in her eyes. Social reflection controls are powerful.

At the age of ten I found myself considered the black sheep of the family. Because of this reputation, other boys envied me. Even my elders sometimes made complimentary remarks about my startling conduct. On more than one occasion I heard my parents describe my pranks to their friends, and then I would hear them all laugh loudly, and I would swell with pride. Many references were made to my actions in a more or less approving way. From these experiences I gained favorable impressions as: "Oh, isn't he a clever rascal!" Consequently I began deliberately to act the part of a black sheep; and some of the things which I did would not read well here. I was saved from going to the dogs because our family (a minister's family) moved to another town where my friends—especially one girl friend—did not consider that the black sheep should be envied. The reflection of my daredevil actions no longer had a halo around it, and I changed my attitudes.¹⁰

⁹ "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXVIII: 668.

¹⁰ From ms by S. M.

Status and Standards. The ways in which social reflections determine a person's behavior standards is little suspected. A college student reports that when he was called upon to illustrate the role of status in his own behavior he found himself unwilling to cite a first-rate illustration because of the unfavorable reflection that would arise concerning him in the mind of his instructor. Anticipated social judgments exert a determining influence in the hundred and one decisions of everyday life. In purchasing a pair of shoes, for example, many a woman has found herself choosing an uncomfortably narrow pair of shoes for the sake of their "looks," but what is "looks" except a status consideration? A celebrated clergyman analyzes the "testimony" meeting where respectable people publicly tell how bad they have been—in terms of status.

We all like to pass for better and wiser than we are; and when we confess in the assembly of the saints of the Lord our depravity, we do it in pursuance of an accepted ritual and not with the expectation that we shall be taken seriously by our human auditors.¹¹

Character development depends upon the nature of the social mirrors or the associates. All who have sensitive personalities are slaves to status. The process is: A favorable reflection of any act is a stimulus to repeat it, and this repetition leads to the formation of behavior patterns. An unfavorable reflection in the eyes of a friend contrariwise is a stimulus to desist, even if the act be worthy.

As a rule a person is affected most by the judgments of himself which come from those who are like-minded with himself. It was this point which David Hume may have had in mind when he said: "The praises of others never give us as much pleasure unless they concur with our own opinion. . . . A mere soldier little values the character of eloquence. . . . Or a merchant of learning." Soldiers have superiors who belittle eloquence, and the merchant looks up to captains of industry who condemn the academic. The first loses status by much speaking, and the second loses status by much theorizing. Since a person cares more about the judgments of his acts that are made by his friends than by strangers, by close friends than by casual ones, he shows as a rule the best of his personality to his friends, the worst of it to enemies, and the careless phases of it to strangers.

Flattery is a method of giving false status. Posing is a make-believe way of courting status. Bashfulness and reticence indicate undue sensitivity to the disapproval of others. Vanity results from feeding regu-

¹¹ C. H. Parkhurst, *My Forty Years in New York* (Macmillan, 1923), p. 3.

larly on exaggerated status. The "vain cannot take his merits for granted," but pines away if he does not hear himself praised regularly.¹² It is a false estimate of status which leads some persons to "rear useless monuments to themselves." Life aims whether missionary or mercenary involve status. In one case the hope is to please God; in the other, to please self.

Penology has taken cognizance of the status principle. The scarlet letter took status away from the wearer. Stocks and pillories are designed to lower status. The warden who clothes his prisoners in ordinary clothes rather than in prison stripes is appealing constructively to status.

Attention to status varies with the sexes. "Girls live so much in their imagination of how they appeal to others."¹³ Women are more subject than men to social judgments in some particulars while men lead in others. Since women have lived in more circumscribed ways than men and have possessed a more sympathetic nature than men, they have been more susceptible to social dictates. Men are probably as susceptible to status as women but in a wider range of fields—business, politics, professions—and not in such localized ways.

Several factors therefore enter into status. First, there is a social group with its evaluations. Second, there are evaluations of a person's actions. Third, the given person imagines or estimates the nature of these evaluations. Fourth, the person reacts in terms of pride, shame, or indifference. The all-powerful influence of social judgments is due to the basic social nature of personality and to the group-made configuration of personality.

PRESTIGE

Prestige and status are different phases of the same phenomenon. Prestige is accorded; status is received. Prestige is a public acting; status is more definitely a phase of personality. Prestige is popularly a rating of superiority; scientifically, it is a rating either favorable or unfavorable. Leopold holds to the popular view when he says that prestige is "a favorable impression, of one person in the eyes of another."¹⁴

Prestige is a relative matter in which one person is compared with others. Prestige is rarely a true estimate. It may be "worked up" out of false claims. The term, prestige, came from the Latin, and meant "delusion." It once connoted a reputation obtained by juggling, conjuring,

¹² E. A. Ross points out that vanity is preoccupation with status by light-draft minds. *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), p. 117.

¹³ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1920), first edit., p. 119.

¹⁴ *Prestige* (Unwin, 1913), p. 25.

casting out demons, and prophesying. The original meanings have been forgotten and new ones of an opposite or favorable nature have arisen.

A main weakness of prestige even to-day is its tendency to rely on appearances. He who can "appear well" is thereby accorded prestige. Culture in the narrow sense of "manners" is still rated high, even though smooth manners may cover up ugly behavior. A man in a soldier's uniform is rated higher than the same person in overalls. Hence shrewd persons may easily parade under false colors.

Unscientific Nature of Prestige. Prestige rarely includes a scientific analysis of personality; it is "a complex product of half-intellectual, half-emotional attitude of each member of the group" toward some other member.¹⁵ Most persons are unscientific in making up their estimates of other persons. Even science has not yet succeeded in building up satisfactory or complete personality rating scales.

"The subject of prestige is not the actual personality but the picture of this individual drawn by public opinion."¹⁶ The less people are trained, the more easily misled they may be in evaluating the worth of a person. In judging pictures in a gallery many persons ask first who is the painter and then judge accordingly. If a picture is by Rembrandt, it is a masterpiece; if by Maes, it goes into the discard. In art even many a critic says with Bernard Shaw: "How can I tell if it is a good play until I know who wrote it?"¹⁷

Sources of Prestige. There are several sources of prestige (and of status). 1. There is the prestige arising from present position, rank, office, insignia. If a stranger is introduced as "Mayor," "Governor," or "Colonel," he is at once accorded prestige. He receives the homage due the institution that he represents. It is not easy to separate the person from the office or the institution. Insignia give prestige. Both the bishop and the hobo must dress the part.¹⁸

2. Past good fortune is another source of prestige. The inheritance of wealth gives prestige in any country where money is rated high. Money is power and prestige; it can buy the best of residences, the most attractive luxuries, and exerts influence in church, courts, politics. Inherited status gives prestige. The son of a millionaire, of a sovereign, of

¹⁵ Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Knopf, 1927), II: 1333.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Arbitrator*, V: 3.

¹⁸ E. E. Slosson and June E. Downey, *Plots and Personality* (Century, 1923), p. 71.

a nationally known pugilist, of a movie star is worshipped because he carries a well-known name.

3. Present good fortune creates prestige. The finding of a million dollar gusher at once elevates the owner. Persons have been put up for office in order to break a deadlock between abler candidates, and hence have acquired prestige adventitiously. Many a person has found himself in the path of success and had prestige heaped upon him.

4. Past success gives current success. He who did well five years ago is expected to do well now. Past success may act as stimulant or chloroform. If young and ambitious, a person will not be satisfied to rest on his oars. If he is in ill health, is growing old, or has been surfeited with honors, he may depend on past success to carry him along to-day. How often an orator will speak without preparation, depending on past efforts and prestige to put him "across."

5. An excellent basis for prestige is current achievement. He who by his own efforts does things well to-day, who is climbing by honest labor, barring accident, will be accorded a justly earned prestige. Achievement will win prestige, even though its first exhibitions may be laughable. The following incident illustrates how behavior first pronounced "crazy" may be coined into prestige.

In Suchedniow . . . a farmer read in the *Gazeta Swiateczna* how from a morass a good meadow, and how from useless, good and fertile land can be made. Confident in the wise advice, he began at once to dig pits through his wet meadows and marshes. His neighbors laughed at him (saying), that he was establishing a cemetery upon his land and digging graves for the whole family. When finally he began to carry dust from the road paved with chalkstones and scattered it upon the wet meadows, they shook their heads saying that he was crazy. But later they saw the result of this work. They were convinced that a piece of meadow from which formerly a small heap of poor hay mixed with moss had been gathered began to give this careful farmer an enormous wagon of hay, half clover.¹⁹

6. A person's prestige is based in part on his own attitudes. If he acts in good faith, prestige awaits him. If he achieves notably but remains modest, his prestige will rise. If he relies on shrewdness, short cuts to achievement, and personal advertising, his prestige will quickly reach a point of saturation. Preachers, especially evangelists, are prone to fall into this habit, sometimes in their public prayers. Note this sentence from a radio prayer: "O Lord, take care of the 3,760 persons converted in our tabernacle during the past year."

¹⁹ Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Knopf, 1927), II: 1927-28.

REPUTATION AND CHARACTER

Reputation usually speaks in good or bad terms. Reputation is good or bad, while prestige is high or low, great or small, without designating ethical value. Reputation uses a welfare yardstick, while prestige, a quality measure. A person may have a high ability prestige but a bad behavior reputation. If a person's work keeps him out of associative life, his bad behavior is secondary. But if his work requires that he appear daily in public, then his dishonesty or immorality is serious. People easily become conditioned according to what they frequently see in action, especially if it is coupled with skill or art. The motion picture star's personal life is heralded far and wide and hence her morality level is naively copied by the multitudes who are captivated by her film appearances. A person of bad reputation but high ability prestige creates a social problem.

Prestige is unsocial. Any person who stands out from his fellows, whether helpfully or harmfully is accorded prestige by some persons. Wealth irrespective of the use to which it is put has prestige. The man who makes money acquires more prestige than he who makes character. Deviltry prestige often outshines goodness prestige. Prestige is attached to persons whimsically and fantastically. Difficulties arise because of the lack of discrimination shown by those who bestow it.

Persons confer prestige and reputation according to the social values which they hold. If prize-fighting is a social value, then the ability to knock a man down for ten seconds is rated high. If the gospel of sacrificial service is put foremost then a prize-fight champion will be accorded the prestige of a jungle beast. To study prestige scientifically requires an analysis of social values.

Reputation once lost is harder to regain than lost prestige. In order to recover his standing it is sometimes necessary for a person to disappear from public gaze and to appear in a new activity later. A defeated politician must usually bide his time patiently and later build up first his prestige anew and then his reputation. Prestige may be recovered by doing something valuable for the group, but regaining reputation involves overcoming the distrust that the public has come to feel. Achievement is more objective than personal integrity and hence prestige is easier to recover than reputation.

Character as Real Worth. Character is the actual organization of personality traits in relation to social environment. It is what a person is: reputation is what a person is reported to be. Character is used both

psychologically and ethically. In the first sense a person of strong character has well-organized behavior patterns and a definite configuration of personality. People know where he stands. He is no will-of-the-wisp. He does not cater to ephemeral values. A criminal may have a stronger character psychologically than many people who never violate a law.

Ethically, character refers to dependable action in welfare terms. It is the counterpart of reputation. A person with a good character ethically can be counted on to act helpfully. Many persons have a good character ethically as far as close friends go, but a less enviable one in relation to strangers or opponents.

Prestige is often the tragedy of character. Prestige may turn a person's head, giving him a false estimate of character or real worth. If his prestige is greater than his reputation, he may learn to care more for achievement than for personal integrity. High prestige undermines humility of character. Prestige may hinder sympathy by making a person self-centered. With all eyes upon him, he gets out of touch with others, but to lose touch is to starve ethical character. Prestige promotes pride. Success creates a prestige which if unduly relied upon undermines future success. In achieving, a person's character is endangered by the magnifying glass of prestige.

GROUP STATUS

Groups, like persons, thrive on status. In the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson wrote that "a decent respect to the opinion of mankind" required that our forefathers should explain why they revolted. At the beginning of the World War each large nation hastened to give its reasons for declaring war in order to justify itself in the eyes of the world. In 1922, the motion picture industry employed a member of a president's cabinet to recoup a waning status, and in 1929 added a prominent club woman to its staff for a similar purpose. Political parties are continually maneuvering for status. Colleges and universities seek status in the eyes of possible donors.

Institutions may be viewed in terms of both prestige and status. Philosophy and mathematics have had a long standing prestige while only a century ago geology and biology were unrecognized. Only three decades ago sociology had no standing. Gradations in prestige, often acquired adventitiously, exist to-day not only among academic subjects but among social institutions. An entire social class is accorded a false status but in time comes to receive general recognition. Slaves usually have been forced to accept the rating given them not by themselves but by the slave-holding

class. Permanent gradations in prestige may become falsely established and fake group values perpetuated.

New group status adds to the personal status of every member whether deserving or not. Moreover, "it is pleasant to win a personal contest; but it is little short of sublime to be a member of a victorious group."²⁰ To be a star, or to stand out favorably, in a victorious group is the height of sublimity. To make a bone-headed play and thereby to prevent a group from winning is the deepest of humiliation.

In the preceding chapters, personality is an integration of attitudes in terms of status. The building up of attitudes takes place with reference to social stimuli, chief of which are those carrying status meanings. Their integration gives a configuration to personality at any particular; this configuration determines a person's responses to the next sequence of stimuli. Thus the process of personality conditioning moves on, and the social interplay of life shifts from one center of human attention to another.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Status is the rating a person receives from other persons.
2. Status is prized more highly than other social values.
3. The attitudes of every person are being conditioned continually by the reactions of other persons.
4. A person's behavior is rarely reflected accurately.
5. Behavior is greatly influenced by anticipated social reflection.
6. Schemingly to court favorable status for one's self corrupts character.
7. Pretense and sham are often prompted by the desire for status.
8. Mirrored reflections largely determine moral standards, particularly of the young.
9. The development of character depends upon the nature of the social mirrors that surround one.
10. Prestige is accorded; status is received.
11. Prestige is high or low; reputation is good or bad.
12. Character is the actual organization of personal attitudes in relation to social situations.
13. Groups like persons thrive on status and die without it.
14. Both person and group possess different kinds of status at any given time.

PROBLEMS

1. Explain: "Every group is a set of mirrors."
2. Distinguish between the reflection of one's self in the eyes of a friend, an enemy, and a stranger.
3. Why is a personal solicitation for a worthy cause more effective than an appeal by letter?

²⁰ F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (Houghton Mifflin, 1924), p. 282.

4. Why are social reflections untrustworthy guides to personal behavior?
5. What causes a little boy to become ashamed of wearing curls?
6. Why does the average boy dislike dishwashing?
7. What is the chief cause of bashfulness?
8. Who are more concerned about status, men or women?
9. In what different ways does status affect a pupil's recitation in class?
10. Which is the greater factor in arousing the desire of a college girl "to make a sorority," gregariousness or status?
11. Which are more sensitive to status, the wealthy or the poor?
12. Would you have achieved much if no one had ever expected anything of you?
13. How may a person occupy several status levels at the same time?
14. Without a person changing in any way, why may his status change?
15. Why was prestige first thought of as a delusion?
16. In what sense is high status the tragedy of greatness?
17. What is the relation of a person's status to his real worth?
18. To what extent can status be successfully manufactured?
19. How can one keep high status from making him unduly proud?
20. How may one whose status is far below his real worth overcome the handicap?
21. Explain: High-heeled slippers are designed "for stationary advertising."
22. How much attention should a person give to his status?
23. Discriminate between *status*, *prestige*, *reputation*, and *character*.
24. Illustrate: Groups thrive on status, and die without it.

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CHAPTER VIII

CONFIGURATION OF PERSONALITY

INHERENT urges, conditioned behavior, directive behavior, attitudes, status—all these operating within the radii of social stimuli account for the different organizations or configurations of personality. No two persons have the same configurations, although the basic patterns may be alike. The profiles of the configurations vary greatly.

Chart IV maps out a personality configuration. In the center is the hereditary core (H.), indefinite, potential, but vital. The circle of social stimuli (S.S.) is also by nature indistinct, varying, but nevertheless very real. The circle of social stimuli includes the entire range of universal values, as indicated by Wissler's universal culture scheme,¹ or by Small's classification of interests.² These are given here as an eight-fold classification of social values, namely: family, sociality and play, language and learning, livelihood and occupation, property, government and war, religion, and art. The distance from the center (H.) to the configuration line (C. L.) is the measure of the positive attitudes of the person. From the configuration line (C. L.) to the social stimuli limits (S. S.) is the measure of negative attitudes. Beyond the social stimuli line is the field toward which the person has no attitudes, for he has had no experiences therewith.

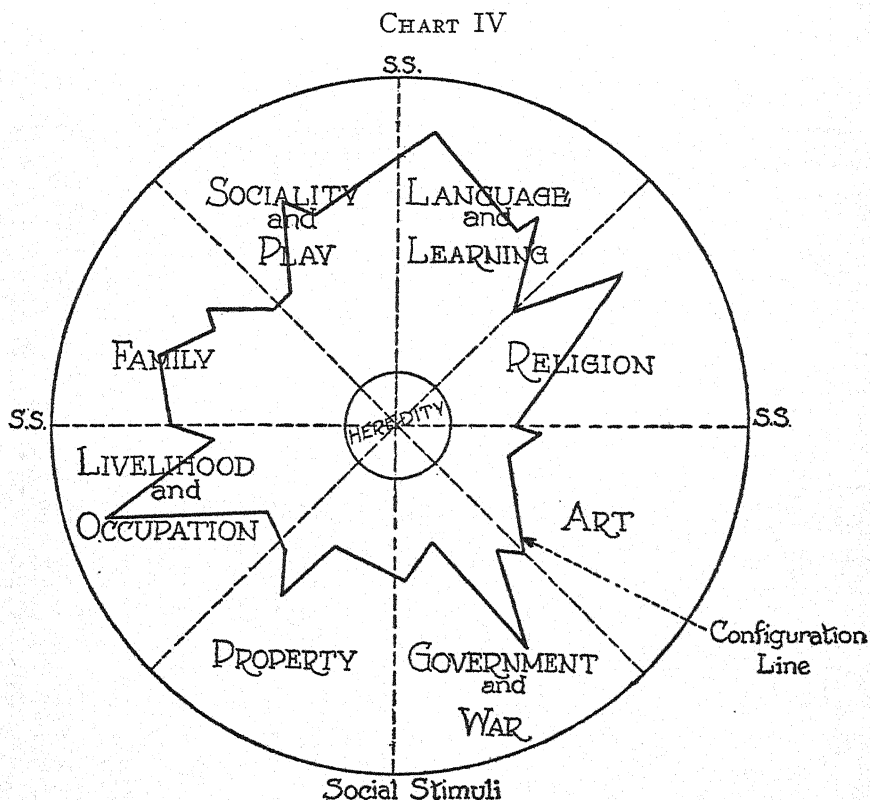
Within one of the angles a person's configuration is rarely well balanced. In the religious angle he may react favorably toward a religious sect but be opposed to other religions and their values (stimuli). Within the art angle he may respond to music but care only a little for poetry. Within the government angle he may react favorably to capitalism but against socialism. And so on. To chart accurately and completely the configuration of any person, it would be necessary to have his reactions to many social values.

Classifications of configurations are either popular or scientific. The popular evaluations run to an "either-or" classification; to a two-fold generalization, so broad that its scientific value is often nil if not harmful.

¹ Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (Crowell, 1923), Ch. V.

² A. W. Small, *General Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1905), Ch. XXXI.

The dichotomies are illustrated by "the good person" and "the bad person," "the upright person" and "the criminal," "the strong person" and "the weak person," "the sincere person" and "the hypocrite." The scientific analysis is sometimes too general; it is illustrated by W. I. Thomas's three-fold types of "the Bohemian," "the Philistine," and "the



Creative"; or by Jung's "introvert" and "extrovert." The scientific analysis may confine itself largely to the configurations of abnormal persons, as is found in Rosanoff's antisocial, cyclothymic, autistic, and epileptic personalities,³ or it may be extended to include the idea of *pentagonal* personalities, as advanced by Clarence M. Case, which is based on the five urges for new experience, security, response, recognition, and to aid.

³ A. J. Rosanoff, *Manual of Psychiatry* (Wiley, 1927), p. 333.

TYPES OF CONFIGURATIONS

People are most prone to class each other into good and bad. The "good" person is one (1) who is "like us," of our own kind, "after our own heart"; who subscribes to our mores; (2) who is reliable in personal dealings; (3) who defends our group; and (4) who builds up the social values that we stand for. The "bad" person of course is one who does not do one or more of these things. If he belongs to an outside group, an "out-group," a competitive group, then his behavior is judged more harshly than if he belongs to our group. As a member of an "out-group" he is likely to be rated at his worst; as a member of an "in-group," he is likely to be excused for his worst.

Another classification distinguishes between "the upright citizen" and "the criminal." The upright citizen moves in polite society, stands up when the mores are endangered, supports law and order, at least in the main; he is known for his honesty, respectability, and patriotism. The criminal is used popularly to refer to persons who break a major law once or repeatedly break minor laws. A hardened criminal is one who breaks major laws without compunction. The criminologists have often disagreed regarding "the criminal" but in general renounce the old teaching that some persons are born criminal.⁴

Still another classification is that of strong or weak persons. The strong person is usually one (1) of energy (2) of endurance, (3) of integrated traits, (4) of well organized habits, (5) of courage and bravery, (6) of drive and grit and determination (7) and one who "knows his own mind." The weak person is deficient in one or more of these tendencies. The strong person may be recognized and respected as such even though he belong to an "out-group"; he is admitted to be "a worthy foe." Members of the "in-group" are urged to emulate him.

Extrovertive persons seem "stronger" than the introvertive. Introvertiveness bides its time, declines to redress present wrongs for future gains; and thereby seems to be weak whereas it may be exercising inhibition and courage. Introvertiveness, on the other hand, is more sensitive to danger and may develop what seems to be weakness when it is in a social situation that calls for brute courage. Hyperadrenal activity leads to exhibitions of physical strength; hypo-adrenal and hyper-splenic functioning leads to anaemic weakness. Other endocrine and

⁴ Some individuals may be born mentally deficient and may never develop a "moral sense." As moral imbeciles some of them commit "heinous crimes." The criminal like the upright is made or conditioned by social stimuli. The upright has some criminal tendencies; the criminal has some upright traits.

chemical changes account for certain differences between the strong and the weak person.

Then there are the configurations represented by "the sincere person" and "the hypocrite." The sincere person is described as being "as honest as the day is long," as one who would harm himself before he would allow harm to come to another, as being absolutely dependable, as showing on his face not one whit of sham, as never playing to the gallery, as content to be his own self, pure and simple. The hypocrite is one of course who puts on, who is two-faced, who talks about people behind their backs, who "lies to people's faces," who lies "without batting an eye." Persons who must cater to the whims of groups with differing standards are often tempted to play a many-sided rôle that sometimes spells hypocrisy.

Then there are the *leader* and *follower* configurations. The leader is one who sets the pace, who accepts the responsibility, who plans the next step, who foresees the future correctly. He has mental or physical energy or both. He sees into things more deeply; he pushes farther ahead. He maintains the confidence of others; he gathers followers. The follower obeys orders, carries out the plans, does the routine, contributes the brawn, becomes subservient, wrestles with and perspires over the day's ordinary problems. He is content that others shall assume the responsibilities and the risks. The public thinks of a small percentage of natural-born leaders and a large percentage of patient followers. Social psychologically every person is both a potential leader and a follower. No one can lead in all things; few are condemned to follow in all things. Nearly everyone has one or more things in which he does well: nearly everyone must look to others to be his leaders in some phases of life.

Occupational Configurations. Occupational activities create personality configurations. The somewhat abnormal configurations have caught the public eye and become stereotypes. The cartoon and the motion picture have played them up good-naturedly. Outstanding illustrations may be cited, such as the Absent-minded Professor, oblivious to the excitement going on in the world, being deeply buried in thought. There is the Precise School Teacher, prim in manners and morals, looking for small errors to correct. The Tired Business Man comes home for quiet but not finding it there seeks surcease in poker at the club or a week-end jaunt. The Sleek Captain of Industry, fat and plutocratic in manner, struts pompously along. The Society Lady sipping her tea, playing bridge, smoking cigarettes, bejewelled and begowned in silks and furs, pities the

poor, benighted rabble. The Bushy-haired Musician grows tense as he strikes the keys and makes the key-board tremble. The Shop Girl dressed beyond her means preens herself with rouge and lipstick, and limps along on spike-heeled shoes. The Bedraggled Hobo with pack on his back bums his way down the road, along the railroad track, from town to town. The Capped and Gowned Senior marches every June in ever-increasing numbers out of college halls into the cold, cold world. The Madonna-like Mother, sweet and beautiful, wistfully looks into distance while carefully guarding her innocent children bending over their blocks. The Begrimed Coal-miner comes up out of earthly caverns, stooped and listless, and shuffles along home, more like a grizzly bear than a human personality. The Beknickered Scotch-plaid Golfer with his caddy carrying his clubs strolls over the fairways. The Baseball Fan with cap pulled down over his eyes, chews gum Will Rogers-like, leans forward at times, jumps up and shouts wildly now and then.

Attitude Configurations. A semi-scientific classification is well represented by W. I. Thomas's discussion of the Philistine, the Bohemian, and the Creative person.⁵ The Philistine is one whose reflective attitudes "have attained so great a fixity that he is accessible to only a certain class of influences—those constituting the most permanent part of his social milieu." Such a person does not have much chance of growth. The Philistine has a few set schemes for defining and interpreting all social situations that arise; he is essentially a conformist. When his established schemes break down, "he is entirely lost." Such is "the case with any conservative and intellectually limited member of a stable community, whatever may be his social class, when he finds himself transferred into another community or when his own group undergoes some rapid and sudden change."⁶ He forever follows "rules," particularly rules of conduct.

The Bohemian is forever changing. His "possibilities of evolution" are always open and "his character remains unformed." He is an opportunist, maintaining "a momentary standpoint." He is inconsistent, because he is forever changing. He possesses a provisional adaptability, and does not develop a settled configuration. He is usually hedonistic, pleasure-loving, roving.

The Creative person searches for new situations to be studied and understood in order to develop his personality. He is ever trying to get

⁵ Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Knopf, 1927), II: 1853-59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II: 1855.

control over new environment, to catch glimpses of new relationships. He is on the lookout for new appreciations in art and knowledge, for new worlds to master, for new flashes of insight. Of course it is clear that there is no pure form of any of these types of configurations. Each appears with something of the others mixed in. One, however, may definitely predominate.

Excerpts from autobiographies of distinguished persons illustrate configuration in a thousand ways. A well-known creative scientist such as Einstein whose achievements in the field of relativity are recognized but who has a retiring personality, possesses, however, a configuration that stands out in sharp detail with an interesting Bohemian tinge.

My passionate interest in social justice and social responsibility has always stood in curious contrast to a marked lack of desire for direct association with men and women. I am a horse for single harness, not cut out for tandem or team work. I have never belonged wholeheartedly to country or State, to my circle of friends, or even to my own family. These ties have always been accompanied by a vague aloofness, and the wish to withdraw into myself increases with the years.

Such isolation is sometimes bitter, but I do not regret being cut off from the understanding and sympathy of other men. I lose something by it, to be sure, but I am compensated for it in being rendered independent of the customs, opinions, and prejudices of others, and am not tempted to rest my peace of mind upon such shifting foundations.⁷

The Configuration Clash. Because of differences in configurations persons disagree or clash without knowing why. Personality clashes are exceedingly common even among individuals in the same social group. Persons who presumably should work together often "fall out." Behind similar manners, occupational activities, public professions of common interests, persons may differ widely in configurations and hence work side by side although great social distance exists between them. Clashes between engaged persons, between parents and children, between brothers occur because of dissimilarity in personality configurations.

Since older persons develop stability in configuration and youth possesses a mobile configuration, it is not surprising that the older generation and the younger conflict. When radical, recalcitrant youth grows into maturity, it naturally develops a more or less fixed personality pattern and acts as a buffer against the impacts of the next generation of turbulent youth. An unkempt lad with shuffling feet and a teacher who prides herself on the industry of her pupils and the "order" she main-

⁷ Albert Einstein, *Forum*, October, 1930.

tains furnish a typical setting for a configuration clash. No one needs to be even the son of a prophet in order to foresee a clash.

The general type may be illustrated by the case of the thin, angular, freckle-faced, dirty immigrant boy who walked into a public school classroom at the beginning of the school year. The teacher was a prim, precise spinster who had been accustomed only to "cultured children." She looked critically over the room and saw the uncleanly lad. She noticed his unkempt hair, and his yellow teeth. He glanced at her, heard her strange, snappy voice, and shifted uneasily in his seat. Like Skeeze of cartoon fame on one occasion, he felt that he was "going to be the cause of impending trouble."

The personality clash was on, though neither teacher nor boy had said a word to the other. Neither even knew the other by name, but each had experienced an unpleasant, disagreeable picture of the other. Earlier unpleasant fixations on the part of both may have been aroused, and without rationalization, mutually antagonistic feelings were set in motion. The clash assumed overt proportions on slight provocation, and a long-term conflict became established.⁸

Intra-Configuration Clash. Different elements within a given personality configuration sometimes clash with each other. The result may be a disintegration of personality and the setting up of a dual configuration or a multiple configuration. When a person is at war with himself he has at least two configurations; he reacts to life first from one and again from the second. His behavior thus contradicts itself. He is like the boy "who was upstairs having a temper tantrum," and whose actions were described by a brother as follows: "He wants to come downstairs, and he won't let himself." Likewise, many persons would like to go out and meet life but won't let themselves.

The dilemma may go from bad to worse until a person withdraws from the world entirely. Such a person has developed a configuration out of harmony with the personality patterns of those about him. He seeks to build a congenial world of his own wherein his personality configuration will fit.

CHANGES IN CONFIGURATION

Personality is mobile as well as stable. Configurations of personality are ever on the move, be it ever so little. Conditioning means changing the configurations of personalities at certain points. In childhood and youth configurations are continually undergoing modification. Childhood, youth, maturity represent a decreasing degree of change in configuration. Ripe age however changes, as evidenced by the man of sixty who ceases to acquire wealth and begins to give it away. A serious illness overtakes

⁸ E. S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (Heath, 1928), pp. 219-220.

him, his physician tells him that his days are numbered, and a somewhat fixed configuration suddenly takes on a new shape.

Changes in Attitudes. Attitudes, like configurations of personality, are not static. Even the most fixed attitudes are subject to dislodgment. Since they have all been acquired in the lifetime of a person they are subject to modification. Imperceptible modifications of a single attitude or of groups of attitudes at a time are the rule. A person who returns after years of absence to his "home town" is shocked at the changes in attitudes which he has undergone.

Changes in attitudes constitute personal evolution, and hence social evolution. If we can find out how to change attitudes, we shall have the key to progress and retrogression. A person's attitudes are influenced largely by the groups in which he "desires status and recognition."⁹ As the stimuli in these groups change and as new values rise over a person's horizon, he changes his attitudes. If in the industrial field, all work may become artistic,¹⁰ then the attitudes and values of the workers may be expected to change. It is in this sense that Charles A. Ellwood's thesis that human nature is one of the most modifiable things in the world rings true.¹¹

Attitudes, however, are difficult to change if they have originated in emotional experiences. The social situations that stir the emotions deeply require careful research, for in them are found the origins of relatively lasting attitudes. Emotional experiences of childhood are especially vital in fixating attitudes. The history of personal experiences gives the story of changes in attitudes.

Attitude changes are influenced by culture patterns. An account of the culture patterns and their development explains many attitude changes. Into an environment of culture patterns each child is born; these patterns furnish the social values which act as all-powerful stimuli.

An individual may meet a certain serious experience and be affected one way; another individual may meet a similar experience and react in an opposite fashion. The differences in reaction are due to differences in the configurations of personality of the two. The previous organization of attitudes, or configuration of personality, explains reactions to present experiences and also the probability of changes in attitudes.¹²

⁹ E. B. Reuter, "The Social Attitude," *Jour. of Applied Sociol.*, VII: 100.

¹⁰ W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Little, Brown, 1923), p. 257.

¹¹ *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VII: 229.

¹² One of the early chapters in English on the importance of the totality of personality or on the *Gestalt* was by Mary P. Follett, in her *Creative Experience* (Longmans, Green, 1924), Ch. V, "Experience in the Light of Recent Psychology:

PROPOSITIONS

1. Personality is an organization, integration, or configuration of attitudes.
2. Every human being has a unique configuration of personality.
3. Every person's configuration is stable in many particulars and fluid in others.
4. Configuration is most fluid in early life.
5. Configuration is rarely well balanced.
6. Popular opinion divides configurations into good and bad, strong and weak, and the like.
7. Semi-scientific classifications are illustrated by the types: the Bohemian, the Philistine, the Creative; the Introvert, the Extrovert.
8. Occupational configurations are pronounced, such as, The Tired Business Man, the Sleek Capitalist, the Cranky Schoolma'am, the Emotional Evangelist, the Go-Getter, the Independent Farmer.
9. Changes in configurations of personality come about through conditioning of attitudes.
10. Configurations explain why a person reacts in one way to a given stimulus and another person in an opposite way to the same stimulus.

PROBLEMS

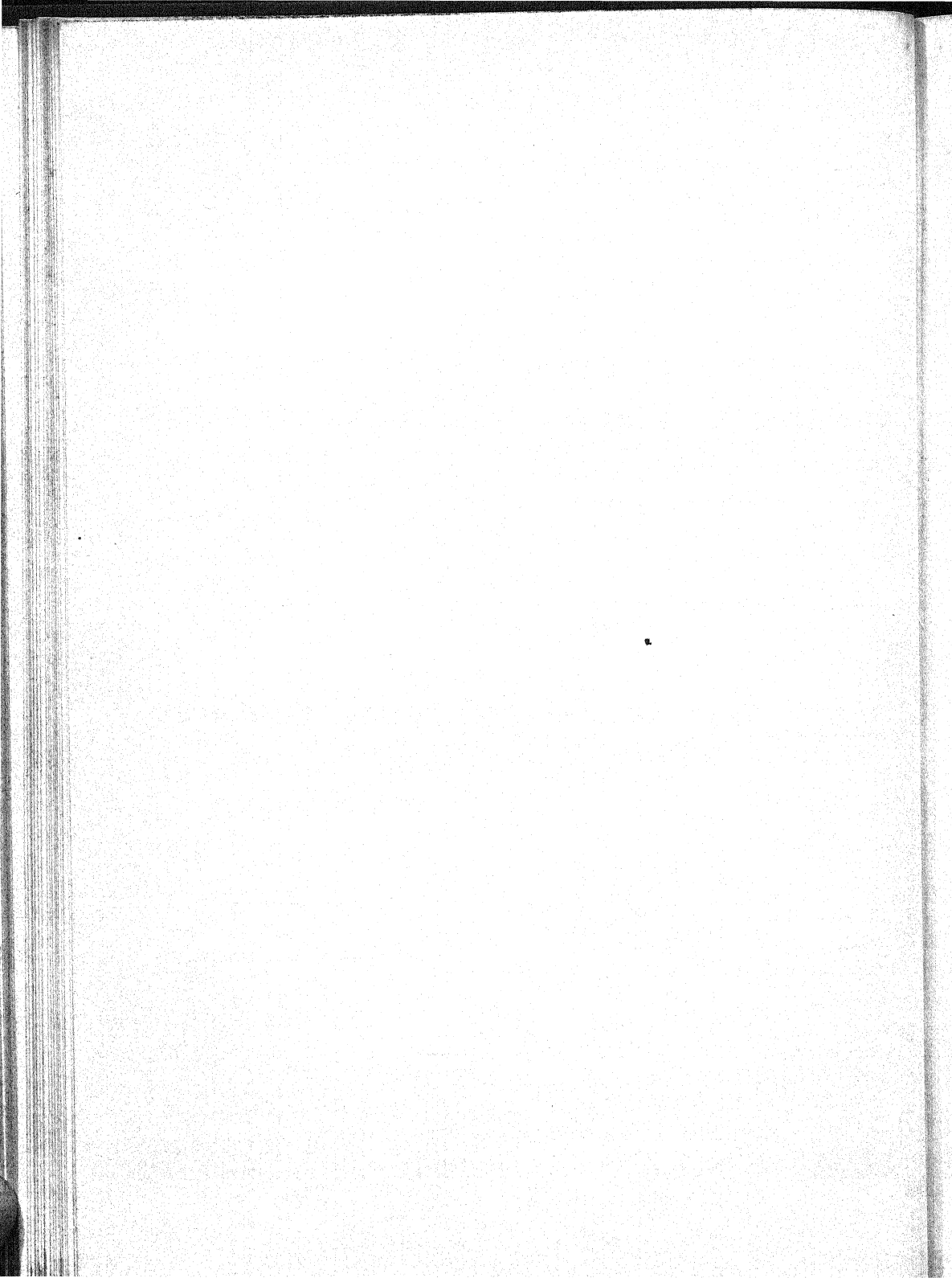
1. Why are configurations of personality rarely well-balanced?
2. How is specialization related to personality configuration?
3. Why do occupations create configurations of personality?
4. Why has the two-fold classification of configurations into good and bad been given so much prominence?
5. Why are some persons Bohemian and some Philistine?
6. Why is a two-fold classification, such as introvert and extrovert, unsatisfactory?
7. How are attitudes related to configuration of personality?
8. What attitudes are least subject to change?
9. What attitudes are most mobile?
10. What factors in experience affect attitudes most?
11. What can be done to chart personality?
12. Illustrate how persons react in the same way to a similar experience?

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PART II
INDIVIDUALITY



CHAPTER IX

ORIGINALITY

PERSONALITY is a combination of sociality and individuality. It includes all the ways of behavior which identify persons with one another (sociality) and all the ways which distinguish persons from one another (individuality). It is these distinguishing marks which make persons so interesting to each other.

Individuality refers to all the margins of uniqueness that characterize each person. These margins comprise some of the backgrounds of leadership; they are rated high according as they contribute to group and personal advancement. Margins of uniqueness are the sources of adventure, of the original, of refreshing leadership; on the other hand, sociality furnishes stability and dependability, and guarantees both personal and group conservation.

New, worth-while ways of doing and achieving attract favorable attention to themselves and create a leadership status. Originality puts a person in the center of social vision. It attracts the spotlights. Originality in small things is universal, although rare in big things. A record of almost any child's doings and sayings includes much uniqueness, many new expressions coined, new games invented, new fictions created, the unexpected. Nearly every child, before he has become standardized, is original. Each has margins of uniqueness which are excellent feeders for leadership.

While persons are far more alike than different, it is their differences which attract attention. While leadership is built on similarities, it gets its verve from differences. It has been estimated that the population of the earth could be multiplied forty times before there would be a duplication of the finger-prints of any two persons—a testimony to the existence of physical uniqueness. Intelligence tests show that no two persons are exactly alike mentally. Personal reactions to similar stimuli are likely to be diverse beyond measure. While the behavior of a large number of persons is predictable,¹ given the conditions, the behavior of any in-

¹ See E. W. Burgess, "Factors, Determining Success or Failure on Parole," in *Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence* (Chicago: Parole Board of Illinois, 1928).

dividual is not so predictable.² Since the origins of the margins of uniqueness explain leadership when it is most interesting, an examination of these origins is in order.

ORIGINS OF UNIQUENESS

Differences in biological heredity account for some margins of uniqueness. Because of the endless varieties of combinations possible in the unicellular origin of a human life, no two individuals have exactly the same heredity.³ Non-identical twins vary widely from each other while even the identical variety may manifest inherited variations from each other. The study of chromosomes and genes indicates that law and order prevail but in exceedingly intricate and baffling ways. The possibility of exact duplication in genes in two children born years apart is about as likely as the exact duplication of finger prints. "No two individuals, in such an organism as man, are concocted on the same recipe (save in the rare cases known as identical twins)."⁴ The almost complete impossibility of exactly the same cellular start in human life explains certain margins of uniqueness.

Origins of personal uniqueness are found in cultural differences. Children in different races or peoples obviously do not have similar cultural backgrounds. Children in different families cannot claim the same cultural ancestry. But how about children in the same family? Even though they have the same parents, they rarely have the same playmates, the same elders who take an interest in them, the same teachers—hence, they do not have the same cultural contacts.

Although born to the same parents, children do not have the same parents culturally. When a child reaches the ten year age limit, his parents are older than when his older brother or sister was ten, and have changed their cultural values in at least some particulars. As the parents have grown older and have had new experiences, they have sloughed off certain culture traits and taken on others.

Other origins of personal uniqueness are found in differences in daily experiences. It is impossible for two persons to have identical experiences and the same stimuli all the time, for the simple reason that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time. Again, the parents differ in their reactions to their children. A given parent does not treat his children

² If we knew all the behavior patterns that comprise personality, we could approximate a prediction regarding the conduct of each individual.

³ With the possible exception of identical twins.

⁴ H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature* (W. W. Norton, 1930), p. 2.

alike, even though he aims to do so. The sweet-tempered child is at an advantage over the fretful one, especially when the parents themselves are tired and ill-humored. Each child is treated according to at least slightly differing stimuli of sympathy, interest, and fatigue. To the extent that daily experiences and stimuli, direct and hearsay, vary, personality results vary and uniqueness arises.

A fourth origin of originality is found in the interplay of the three preceding factors. The interplay of the hereditary uniquenesses with the cultural and the daily experience uniquenesses would necessarily create another origin of marginal uniqueness. This interplay of uniquenesses produces a super-uniqueness. The results of this interplay cannot be isolated very well as such, although they doubtless are exceedingly important.

A fifth source is the concentration of ordinary abilities. For example, in throwing his attention painstakingly and persistently in a single direction, a person can master all that is known along that line and put himself in a position to do something new. He who by well centered effort reaches a point where he knows more about one thing than anyone else does or has learned to do one worth-while thing better than anyone else can do it is *ipso facto* a potential leader. Just as the ordinary rays of the sun when focussed through a concave lens will start a fire, so ordinary ability when concentrated may achieve the unusual.⁵

Training is a special source of uniqueness. When a trained person devotes himself steadily to exploration and experimentation, discovery and invention are likely to ensue. Training gives a person a special combination of skills and of knowledge which puts him ahead of his untrained fellows

Democracy is a sixth source of originality. The masses are often deemed a herd, all alike and drab in color, but when freely stimulating one another the individual members develop margins of uniqueness. Through education and interstimulation hidden energies are released and originality emerges. Under democratic stimuli a group of people may become dynamic and creative. When a person knows that all his worthy efforts will receive recognition and when he competes constructively with other persons who are "on their toes," original results may be expected. In summarizing the social theories of John Dewey, E. C. Moore says that "democracy is the discovery that original capacities are as various as the individuals whose they are and as indispensable to the state."⁶

⁵ For an elaboration of this stirring idea of focalizing human energy, see L. F. Ward, *Pure Sociology* (Macmillan, 1914), p. 36.

⁶ John Dewey, *the Man and His Philosophy, a symposium* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1930), p. 35.

The democratic process of releasing human energy has been called individuation,⁷ as distinguished from individualization. The latter refers to the normal growth of an individual as an independent unit. Individuation, on the other hand, refers to releasing persons who have become encysted in social red tape, customs, and conventions, and whose originality is thereby atrophying. Individuation is a process of pulverizing "social lumps" and of releasing the uniquenesses of the members. Crusts form over groups until individual initiative is smothered, and red tape multiplies until persons lose freedom.

FLASHES OF INSIGHT

The scientist and the poet alike have "flashes of insight," which are the essence of originality. The flashes of insight of the experimenter often come at unexpected moments. The scientist may work for days monotonously when, seemingly out of a clear sky, a new relationship will be perceived.

The poet ponders, but no "hunch" comes to him. In the early hours of the morning or amid the crowded hours of the day a brilliant idea will flash through his mind and a poem is conceived. Such flashes of insight are not at all dissimilar to those of the scientist. In both cases, flashes of insight occur after experimentation or concentration. The flashes of insight of the poet seem more exotic: they are not as closely connected with their subject matter; they sometimes seem more brilliant.

Inspiration and Intuition. Flashes of insight are inspiration and intuition. Inspiration has been berated by science and yet is not as peculiar as it seems. It is difficult to measure or to treat objectively. It is subjective and elusive. The vagaries of the artistic temperament have often been recognized.

Inspiration seems to wait on mood, but not peculiarly so, for discovery by scientific means is also irregular. Inspiration knows no ten-hour day and recoils against standardization. It works when it feels like it and insists on long siestas. Its coming is not easily forecasted or courted.⁸ The scientist, on the other hand, works methodically; he knows few let-ups. But he makes his findings as uncannily as does the poet.

In G. Stanley Hall there was a combination of the scientific and the poetic, of the methodical and the fitful. He reveals both the ordinary and the genius. Much work stimulated by occasional inspiration is his record.

⁷ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), pp. 409-13.

⁸ L. F. Ward, *Pure Sociology* (Macmillan, 1914), pp. 77-86.

All my books and even more serious articles have been written with a certain fervor which I am very prone to overwork and, as the task proceeds, I am pushed by an interest that takes possession of me and which I have to restrain. And after each one is done there is always a feeling of impotence and exhaustion in which I lie fallow and abandon myself to the luxury of reading, which at first tends to be desultory until slowly another center of interest is constellated which may culminate in an urge to write in order to express my personal reaction upon the material that has been accumulated.⁹

Even in the case of the purest "inspiration" the cultural backgrounds and training are indispensable. Sousa reports how his well-known march, "The Stars and Stripes Forever" came to him as a whole in a single flash. A brain band suddenly set up playing this composition; it was not changed. Even so, it bears unmistakable marks of identification with others of Sousa's creations.

As the vessel steamed out of the harbor [when Sousa was returning home from Europe], I was pacing the deck, absorbed in thoughts of my manager's death and the many duties and decisions which awaited me in New York. Suddenly I began to sense the rhythmic beat of a band playing within my brain. It kept on ceaselessly, ceaselessly, playing, playing, playing. Throughout the whole tense voyage that imaginary band continued to unfold the same themes, echoing and re-echoing the most distinct melody. I did not transfer a note of that music to paper while I was on the steamer, but when we reached shore, I set down the measures that my brain-band had been playing for me, and not a note of it has ever been changed. The composition is known the world over as "The Stars and Stripes Forever," and is probably my most popular march.¹⁰

Intuition likewise consists of flashes of insight, but flashes that are based on past experiences. Intuition is an emergence of judgment based on the feelings, on a reverberation through the human organism of past experiences, set off by current stimuli. If one knows a person's configuration of personality it is possible to predict what the general rôle of intuition will be and in some cases the nature of the intuitive reactions.

AGE AND SEX IN RELATION TO ORIGINALITY

Age. Youth is ambitious and dares the novel, for with its limited experiences and its ambitious fervor creates illusions. Youth rushes ahead where older heads would advise caution; it plunges against great odds and unheard-of obstacles but sometimes it achieves the unique and original.

Childhood is captivated by the novel; it seeks continually the different,

⁹ G. Stanley Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (Appleton, 1923), p. 573.

¹⁰ John Philip Sousa, *Marching Along* (Hale, 1928).

the unexplored, the unorthodox. It repeatedly bumps up against "don'ts," because it is looking for the bypaths. It asks questions until they become embarrassing to the wise; it suffers from the "gimme's" and the "getme's." It takes things apart; it climbs the housetops. Often the choicest exhibitions of originality in sayings and doings are put on by children.

With maturity and middle age originality decreases.¹¹ The increasing conservatism of age based on hard knocks is fatal to originality. New problems are no longer met in new ways but by old formulae. Once a person has thought a problem through and has come to a decision, habit takes charge and originality ends. As the exuberance of youth declines, uniqueness fades out. The conclusion that "it doesn't pay" to buck the currents is paralyzing.

Exceptions attract attention. A few persons grow in creativeness with age. They reach their most productive years late in life. Their brains grow more fertile and they make their best contributions past three score and ten. They maintain youth's mental exuberance and drive ahead until "senility vetoes effort."

Sex. Man has been rated more original than woman. In support of this statement, man's superior achievements and his greater number of inventions have been cited. On the other hand man's wider and more numerous contacts account for his superior record; and woman's educational and industrial limitations are her justifiable alibis. Differences in environmental conditions are significant. Historically, custom has circumscribed woman until surplus energies have had no outlet except in destructive gossip and jealousy, or in unremitting attention to dress.

Originality is not confined to either sex. In recent decades since woman has been released from the trammels of a household drudge or a pet in a doll's house, she has learned to initiate and to lead. Competing with men in nearly all lines of endeavor, she has been forging ahead.

In the public schools to-day girls remain long after boys become restless. More women are availing themselves of a liberal education than are men. Women surpass men in election to Phi Beta Kappa. Since a liberal education is basic to public leadership, women may yet attain the controlling positions in forming public opinion and in determining the trends of social development.

To the extent that woman matures earlier than man, her native energies have less chance of development.¹² Woman has a functional development pertaining to motherhood which gives her a unique place in the world,

¹¹ T. S. Knowlson, *Originality* (London, Laurie, 1918), p. 133.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 138ff.

secure from competition by men. Nature has given woman a special delimiting opportunity which will remain hers even after she has broken the shackles of male-created customs. Woman has had to fall back upon her feeling reactions and hence has been credited with a special intuitiveness. Intuition has been woman's resource against the handicaps of a circumscribed sphere. When she gains knowledge and technique such as men enjoy, her intuitiveness will doubtless decay. The relative brain power of the two sexes may not differ; the greater achievements accredited to men so far may be accounted for largely by a greater range of activities and stimuli.

The place of woman in making early inventions has been overlooked. Women seem to have originated most of the arts. Women probably discovered many edible herbs, domesticated the cat, taught the dog to be a home guardian, discovered that cows and goats could give nourishing milk for children, wound reeds to make cradles, wove linen, jute, and wool into body covering and clothes, invented baskets to collect the harvest in, fired clay in the heat of the sun and made bricks, discovered medicinal herbs, domesticated the silk worm, found what plants, animals, and techniques could be used in making dyes and colors, and made countless household inventions.¹³

Love awakens originality. While much of the product is "mush," the urge to outdo one's self is powerful. As the mocking bird strikes new notes in singing to his mate at some midnight hour, so dynamic love has written superior poetry, composed immortal operas, painted masterpieces, and contributed to scientific discovery. Much originality may be expected from efforts due to love stimuli of all kinds—a vast volume of originality made up of "millions of small increments in all lands and all shades and grades of life, building ever higher and broader the coral reef of civilization."

In all connections individuality, uniqueness, and originality count heavily. Originality is appealing; it is commanding; it vivifies; it "carries on" by its own momentum—providing it is used intelligently. If expressed stupidly or destructively or if it creates chestiness and big-headedness, then it misses its high calling.

PROPOSITIONS

I. Originality arises from (a) heredity, (b) culture, (c) daily experiences, (d) an interplay of heredity, culture, and experiences, (e) democracy, (f) training, and (g) concentration.

¹³ G. Lombroso, *The Soul of Woman* (Dutton, 1923), pp. 148-49.

2. Leadership involves margins of uniqueness.
3. Flashes of insight are common to the whole range of invention and leadership.
4. Inspiration and intuition are special but not baffling phases of originality.
5. Originality appears early in life and tends to decrease after middle life.
6. Originality is distributed somewhat evenly between the sexes.
7. Originality is appealing and fascinating, and hence highly prized.

PROBLEMS

1. What is marginal uniqueness?
2. How common is it?
3. How is it related to leadership?
4. How may one develop his margins of uniqueness?
5. Why does originality flourish most in the days of youth?
6. Why are the later years of maturity sometimes the most original?
7. What is the derivation of the term, originality?
8. Why does autocracy cherish a theory of mental mediocrity or inferiority concerning the masses of the people?
9. Distinguish between *intuition* and *inspiration*.
10. Can you give any scientific basis for inspiration?
11. What method of conducting a class calls forth the most originality in the student?
12. When does education stimulate originality and when does it produce acquiescence?
13. When does leadership require the least originality? The most originality?
14. When does originality fail to attain a leadership status?

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CHAPTER X

TALENT AND GENIUS

TALENT is special ability; genius is superior ability. Both imply an unusual heredity in some particular or other, both require social stimuli for their development. Every human being's heredity is uneven; it is better at certain points than at others. Concentrations in a person's heredity account in part for talent or genius. Sometimes these concentrations enable a person to develop in mathematics, in mechanics, in art, or in abstract reasoning more easily than do his fellows.

ORIGINS OF TALENT

Origins of talent are to be found partly in the genes and chromosomes. Talent arises out of variations in genes that are inherited, in the interactions of these genes among themselves, in the interaction of the genes and their own environments, and in the interaction of the person with his environments.¹ No one of these factors, taken by itself, not even the inheritance of particular genes, accounts for mental superiorities. "All characteristics are products of development, and development is always through an interaction of the 'materials of inheritance,' the genes, and other things, the environment."²

Special aptitudes were formerly called "natural bents," to-day their possessors are popularly referred to as mathematical "sharks," mechanical "wizards," musical "prodigies," memory "hounds." The aptitudes are usually manifested in early childhood, but their development depends on many factors.

Among the new and startling biological data are facts such as: "inferior parents may produce intellectually superior children";³ and "superiority and inferiority depend in very large measure on the way the genes from the two parents happen to be combined; and any pair of parents can produce thousands of diverse combinations."⁴ The big words

¹ See H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature* (Norton, New York, 1930), Ch. IX.

² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

to-day in the field of talent and genius are combinations, integrations, and emergencies.

Social psychology cannot ignore the rôle of the genes, or the interaction of the genes, or the interaction of the genes and their own environment, but it naturally gives its attention to the interaction of persons of special ability and their environments. Where interaction is on a low intelligence level, special aptitudes may be "born to blush unseen." Without the stimuli that come from active social environments the special aptitudes remain potential. Galton's theory that genius will express itself irrespective of social interaction is rash.⁵ It is by no means clear that even a genius even though he maintains his health, is bound to rise to eminence. Such a theory, which fails to appreciate the significance of social stimulation was exploded by Ward.⁶ The amount and quality of social interstimulation are essential considerations.

Then there are popularizations of biology such as found in *The Decalogue of Science* which are too simple and quite misleading. They base all on heredity; they spread the fallacy that "like produces like"; they reduce human ability to the mere inheritance of genes, and ignore all the other biological factors not to mention the social. The "Decalogue" is also guilty of another fallacy, namely of calling on biological grounds for an aristocratic organization of society as opposed to a democratic one.

The opposite position is taken by those Behaviorists who overlook heredity to the extent of claiming that environment is just about everything. Watson, for example, has gone to the extreme of claiming that by controlling environment, it is possible to determine both temperament and abilities.⁷ Social interstimulation is outstanding, but it cannot ignore the nature of the genes, the interaction of the genes, and the interaction of the genes with their environment.

Special aptitudes may exist potentially, but the social environment may provide few or no opportunities for their development, or they never reach fruition. In poverty special aptitudes have little chance; education and travel are kept at a minimum and a special aptitude will come to nothing.

The biologist recognizes at least indirectly the rôle of social interstimulation when he says: "Great men, it is true, seem to rise higher than their source."⁸ The biologist reminds us, on the other hand,

⁵ Galton, *Hereditary Genius* (Macmillan, 1892), p. 34.

⁶ *Applied Sociology* (Ginn, 1906), pp. 115ff.

⁷ J. B. Watson, *The Ways of Behaviorism* (Harper, 1928), Ch. II.

⁸ S. J. Holmes, *The Trend of the Race* (Harcourt, Brace, 1921), p. 115.

that we cannot make "good ability out of inborn dullness by all the aids which environment and education or anything else can possibly offer."⁹

Where economic and social disadvantages are many, parents are relatively helpless and special aid must be given their children who show special abilities. On the other hand, special ability that appears among children of the very wealthy often needs outside stimulation, for it is pampered. Economic affluence may chloroform special ability, or it may lead it to anti-social behavior. The possession of wealth hinders prolonged exertion; it soothes even genius into mediocrity; it creates habits of indulgence and drugs talent and genius.

In many places there are educational advantages for the children of the wealthy in the way of special tutors and private teachers. They have the advantages of travel, while the children of the poor are being stunted by the monotony of the tenement. The "foreigners" "beyond the tracks" receive proportionately much less than their share of the public expenditures. Special ability thus is left asleep in a half or more of the population.

Intelligence tests indicate certain children as super-bright. Special training in the public schools is being provided for these children with high IQs. but sufficient time has not elapsed for this program to have come to full fruition.

Intelligence tests claim to measure native intelligence; actually they measure native intelligence as developed by environmental stimuli. Their proponents have sometimes argued as though intelligence ratings, in the first place, are inclusive of all phases of intelligence and not simply of those phases which can be measured. In the second place, intelligence tests have been treated as though they tested the most important phase of personality and that other elements of personality did not matter nearly so much. The rôle of energy and activity has been minimized. Thirdly, the differences in I.Q.s. that have been found have been used against democracy. A social caste system has been suggested with the super-brights (four per cent) looking down "knowingly" upon the rest of us, the "dumb-bells" (96 per cent of the population), and with the "dumb-bells" feeling deeply the hopelessness of their situation.

It is unfortunate that tests of emotional drive and of push have been slow to develop. If they could have been perfected and come into use before the development of the intelligence tests, an entirely new classification of human society might have developed. Ambition or laziness

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

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seems to depend on social stimuli as much if not more than on heredity. Special achievement likewise has a basis in social stimulation.

In addition to intelligence and energy there is a third phase of personality, namely, character, which has a powerful bearing on talent, particularly on the use of it. Talent used against the welfare of the many people is dangerous. Talent may be well trained but wasted in riotous living or coupled with ignoble purposes; hence, character tests are important along with intelligence and energy tests. Personality is a combination of intelligence, energy, and character. Special personality ability is inclusive of all three. It is unreal, illogical, and unnatural to segregate any one of these.

DEMOCRACY OF TALENT

(1) Special ability appears as frequently in tenements as in mansions. It is found in illiterate as well as in erudite homes. It appears widely. Nature does not discriminate. With superior children being born to inferior parents and with blue bloods dying out,¹⁰ nature appears democratic. Inferior characteristics in the main are recessive; superior, dominant.

The biologist is now the authority for the statement that superior children may be born to inferior parents, and that it is a fallacy to assume that superior individuals must have come from superior parents.¹¹ Even more startling to some people is the statement that "from the great mass of mediocre parents arise more superior offspring than from the few distinguished parents."¹²

(2) Talents of certain types appear in certain people; other types, in other people. No people are left without some points of superiority; none are wholly inferior. Instead of superior races and inferior races, there are superior and inferior persons in every race.

(3) Inherited traits, no matter how superior, are dependent upon social stimulation for their full development. Nature makes no geniuses completely developed. Each one is indebted to social and group life for growth and recognition. Talent is socially dependent. The social group furnishes stimuli,—without which talent languishes. The self-made are also group-made. Albert Einstein, wizard of relativity, recognizes this social indebtedness:

¹⁰ Partly, however, from low birth rate.

¹¹ H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature* (Norton, 1930), p. 218.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

From the standpoint of daily life, however, there is one thing we do know: that man is here for the sake of other men—above all for those upon whose smile and well-being our own happiness depends, and also for the countless unknown souls with whose fate we are connected by a bond of sympathy. Many times a day I realize how much my own outer and inner life is built upon the labors of my fellow-men, both living and dead, and how earnestly I must exert myself in order to give in return as much as I have received. My peace of mind is often troubled by the depressing sense that I have borrowed too heavily from the work of other men.¹³

(4) Since a person of ability is indebted to nature for his heredity and to social groups for opportunities and recognition, he is a steward, accountable to many sources for his stewardship. His special abilities are not his to toss away lightly, to use in crushing the lives of other persons, or to sell to the highest bidder. Their possession places the owner under democratic obligations.

THEORIES OF GENIUS

To *Lombroso* genius is a form of insanity.¹⁴ Genius represents so much mental concentration that its development leads to a one-sided, unbalanced mentality. Genius is often over-compensation in an inferior brain, according to Alfred Adler.¹⁵ The genius, or person possessed of genius, often becomes a crank, and resembles insane persons with their hobbies and concentrations on single ideas. *Lombroso's* theory is only partly true, namely, when a genius through prolonged concentration or great adversity breaks under the strain. He may be lacking in the balance and poise to meet a variety of crises, and goes to pieces.

The genius being superior often becomes disgusted with the slowness of ordinary people. He easily develops into a social recalcitrant. He is naturally a misfit. His ideas may be so out of harmony that he is dubbed "crazy." It is not the real genius who is "crazy," but often the people who call him so. There are of course many would-be geniuses, or "crazy" people who mistake themselves.

The genius at his best finds difficulty in functioning well socially. He grows impatient and fumes; he may withdraw and become a recluse. It is only by biding his time that he attains a reputation for mental sobriety, but this waiting is almost impossible to a genius.

¹³ Albert Einstein, *Forum*, October, 1930, p. 194.

¹⁴ *The Man of Genius* (London, 1891).

¹⁵ For an elaboration of this idea, see Alfred Adler, *Study of Organ Inferiority and its Psychological Compensation* (New York, 1917); also Geraldine Coster, *Psycho-Analysis for Normal People* (Oxford, 1926).

The prodigy is a special form of the born genius. Nature overdoes herself. Certain hormones may have functioned improperly and the genes have been unduly stimulated too soon. As a result the prodigy may do his best work while physically immature. The precocious, a mild form of prodigy, is often overrecognized and overstimulated. Because of his precociousness, he shoots upward too fast; normal youth is often denied him.

The super-normal and super-brights are now receiving special attention educationally. Experimentation indicates the dangers of encouraging the precocious to grow up too soon, of cheating them out of normal social life for their physical age, of developing in them arbitrariness and a set of better-than-others attitudes. Instead of skipping grades in school, each grade needs to be widened and enriched for him.¹⁶ Instead of being catapulted perpendicularly through the grades, he needs to take them in order and to use his great ability to work out horizontally grade by grade, and to lay broad foundations.

Reference has already been made to Adler and to his theory that genius is "overcompensation in an inferior brain," and that the source of ability is in disability. By reacting constructively enough against one's own weaknesses a person may achieve the superior. Demosthenes, stut-tered, and overcompensated; as a result he became a great orator. Henry Ward Beecher had such a thick tongue as a boy that he often had to repeat a message two or three times before he could be understood; he overcompensated and became a leading pulpit orator of America for a quarter of a century.

Galton claimed that genius, barring accident, is bound to express itself and to function irrespective of circumstances. Genius will push through social environments; it may be colored by them but it will be dominant. Social interaction is secondary. Galton was a biological writer who stressed the rule of inheritance. According to definite laws of heredity, genius is passed on from generation to generation. The science of eugenics, or of being well-born, is supreme. The possession of superior traits makes superior persons.

Odin, a Frenchman, and Ward, an American, have developed another theory of genius. They have presented the decisive factors in transforming inherited talent and special ability into achievement. Odin put the emphasis on environmental stimuli.¹⁷ Even though there are certain

¹⁶ There are many instances, of course, where children have skipped "grades" to their own advantage partly because the skipped grades under the present system did not offer much for the bright child.

¹⁷ *Genese des grands hommes* (Paris, 1895).

inherited traits, development does not take place automatically, but waits on social stimulation. It may be crushed by social repression.

Ward pointed out how an unenlightened society may unwittingly smother genius, or at least fail to stimulate it properly. It is difficult even to-day to find any society which scientifically searches out talents of all kinds among its members. Needed encouragement and aid for special abilities among the lower economic classes are given only to a small percentage. The special abilities of children of the poor are allowed to go to waste in whole sections of the world's population.

If eighty or ninety per cent of the time and energy of mankind has been confined to earning bread and butter, a great deal of superior ability must remain caged. Even a man who possessed a master mind declared: "No, it is true I have accomplished a certain amount, but who knows what I might have done if my mind had not had to put forth so much effort and time on the daily necessities of life?"¹⁸ Another person not well known says:

A generous share of recognition has come my way, and yet my achievements have been only a fraction of what they might have been. The first two decades of my life were spent without any scientific training. These contained priceless advantages, but also a great deal of lost motion. Could I with my present experience have taken charge of myself at birth a dozen-fold more efficient person could have been developed than I now am.¹⁹

Odin and Ward held that lack of social appreciation is often fatal to the development of special abilities. The newspapers to-day reveal how scandal, vice, and crime are given the big headlines and possess greater news values than a great deal of scholastic or artistic effort. Special ability in many lines is dubbed "high brow" and ignored by the mediocre. The large prizes often go to those who manipulate their fellows. Many recognitions are granted to the clever but shallow. The public is composed of so many pecuniary-minded persons that it cannot understand the non-pecuniary.

Ward gave special attention to the "genius by hard work" theory. While Galton stressed the genius by inheritance, Ward emphasized the genius by initiative and concentration. The born genius concentrates special ability by spurts; the genius by hard work concentrates ordinary ability steadily. Ward developed the idea of *focalization of psychic energy*, to indicate the genius who chooses for himself with the help of others the field in which he will concentrate; the born genius has his energy con-

¹⁸ Emily P. Cape, *Lester F. Ward, A Personal Sketch* (Putnam, 1922), p. 50.

¹⁹ From ms by S. E.

centrated for him by nature in certain particular directions, such as musical or mathematical. The persistent concentration of ordinary ability in one field will give that person, barring accident, the possibility of becoming a leader in that sphere. The genius by hard work has this special advantage over the born genius:²⁰ the former has opportunities to select the field in which he will concentrate and become a "genius"; the born genius tends to accept whatever specialty nature has selected for him. Moreover, the genius by focalization usually appreciates more fully the value of achievement than does the born genius, for he has paid a heavier price. The born genius is likely to take his superior abilities for granted, and waste them, or he may claim social superiority because of mental endowment and become haughty.

Geniuses by deliberate focalization are less spectacular and brilliant but more numerous and dependable than born geniuses. As a rule the former are better balanced and more practical. While their genius may be natively of a lower order, their achievements may be of greater usefulness and their citizenship rôle is often more democratic.

The achieved genius may build for himself a "self-made" throne. He may become boastful and feel that the less fortunate are the victims of their own lethargy. The self-made man often pats himself on the back too much, neglecting to consider his indebtedness to social stimuli and opportunities.

CONDITIONS FUNDAMENTAL TO GENIUS *do not overlook heredity*

According to the Odin-Ward theory of genius there are certain conditions more fundamental than others to the fruition of genius.

(1) A Stimulating Environment. Genius rarely matures under a widespread pall of mental stagnation. There must be mental conflicts that strike fire and constructive competition that brings out a person's best. A big city is more stimulating than a backwoods community, and a large university has a wider range of stimuli than a remote college.

(2) Thorough Training. Rare indeed is the successful person in any line who has not spent time and energy in developing and perfecting techniques. Special ability must be trained. The greater the potential ability the greater will be the value of training. Nearly all accredited geniuses, the Paderewskis and Edisons report long hours spent in practice, in experimenting, in training. In order that special ability may reach its best, training must begin early. To accuse a champion billiard player or golfer of having misspent his youth is another way of testifying to the

²⁰ Lester F. Ward, *Pure Sociology* (Macmillan, 1914), p. 36.

importance of long hours of early training. Training early and late is necessary. Champions cannot afford to cease training. The greater the genius the more vital the training.

(3) Freedom from the Struggle for Bread. If energy is continually spent in securing the necessities of life, genius is hampered. Poverty denies needed advantages for training. Manual labor may build muscle but not skill. Sufficient means for travel, study, research, freedom for reflection are essential.

(4) Group Standing. A genius is handicapped if he grows up as a member of a race that is despised, of a class that is ignored, of a community where wealth not worth is worshipped, or where vice stalks domineeringly. Without group standing genius withers.

(5) Social Appreciation. Real worth and genuine social contributions must be distinguished by the public from the flash of the moment. Steady planets need to be rated higher than darting meteors. Social alertness in detecting, recognizing, and encouraging real genius is needed; social discrimination in segregating the fake, the mountebank, and the charlatan is a greater need.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF TALENT

Talent and Regression. It is often remarked that the sons of geniuses rarely attain the parental level of achievement. Many cases are available for study. One explanation is found in the biological law of regression. The biologist claims that offspring tend to inherit qualities nearer the average of the species than their parents. This tendency offsets variation and tends to maintain a balance. A parent may be widely variant but his offspring may shift back toward the normal.

A second explanation of the failure of many children to surpass distinguished parents is found in social interaction. By indulgence parents prevent capable children from superior achieving. In providing "an easier time" for their children they unwittingly stifle genius. Life conditions are made "soft." Appropriate stimuli to do difficult things are withheld.

Sometimes too much is expected of the children of superior parents. The children react unfavorably and crave to be left alone. Sometimes eminent parents are in the limelight so much that the children revolt against "having no more privacy than a gold fish in a bowl." In consequence they deliberately seek life away from the glamour.

Talent and Vocational Guidance. The value of vocational guidance depends upon discovering a person's margins of uniqueness. When we de-

scribe a person as a round peg in a square hole, or as having missed his calling, we mean that his margins of uniqueness have been ignored.

Vocational guidance is developing methods of detecting talent and genius, and persons who may become geniuses by hard work. Mental testing ignores important phases of personality and hence vocational guidance cannot be arbitrary or dogmatic. Special ability may not mature until a person reaches thirty, forty, or fifty years. Since some persons display new abilities as their experience increases, even in middle life or later, vocational guidance must go slow in passing final judgment on a fourteen-year-old boy or girl.

An important function of vocational guidance, as soon as special abilities have been noted, is to encourage their possessors not to do the things where they can collect the most money but where their personalities can be developed most; not where they can sell their lives to the highest bidder but where they can contribute most to the development of the personalities of others.

Talent and Social Values. Talent is unsocial. It may be spent in either pro-social or anti-social directions. It may be turned into exploitation as well as into service. Group values influence the direction. Society bears a responsibility for it may allow forces to influence persons of talent so that they undermine civilization. Talent is sought after by evil and designing persons and "interests"; it is always in grave danger of being "bought up."

Many persons with special talents react against traditions, conventions, and outworn social values. Being unique, talent easily revolts against standardization, red tape, and formalism. Talent may naturally push far ahead of the times, and thus be deluded into the belief that current values are antiquated. The genius tends to become an iconoclast, a critic, a revolutionist.

Society has difficulty in distinguishing between its geniuses and its criminals. The fearless person of ability is mistaken for an enemy. Both the genius and the criminal may be destructive of current values but from different attitudes. Society tends to label many of its geniuses as "undesirables"; it may even imprison or crucify them; and then, decades or centuries after they have perished ignominiously, honor them and hallow their memories, as in the case of Socrates, Jesus, Hus, Savonarola, Columbus, Galileo, Joan of Arc.

In the public schools it is special ability which is often impatient with iron-clad standardization and which turns recalcitrant. Youthful ability resents rules; it loves primeval freedom. It demands freedom from re-

straint and chafes under routine and discipline. It rarely has balance; it is out of step with the normal. Special ability is likely to be an arch-critic of social values and an arch-exponent of innovation.

Special ability and intersocial stimulation are correlates. Special ability is matured by social stimuli. Intersocial stimulation in turn becomes dynamic and unique because of special ability. The greatest development of talent occurs where social interaction is most active and free. Social interaction is electric when ability is superior and free.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Talent is special ability; genius is superior ability.
2. Talent appears along special lines, such as, mathematics, or abstract reasoning
3. Talent originates in the genes, in the interaction between the genes, and in the interaction between the genes and their environment.
4. Talent appears almost as frequently in the hovel as in the mansion.
5. Superior children may be born to inferior parents.
6. Lombroso held that genius borders on insanity; Adler, that genius is over-compensation in an ordinary brain.
7. Galton believed that genius will express itself irrespective of social stimuli.
8. Odin and Ward held that social stimuli are essential to the flowering of genius.
9. Special conditions for the maturation of genius are: a stimulating environment, thorough training, freedom from the struggle for bread, group standing, social appreciation.
10. Talent is subject to the laws of regression.
11. Talent may not mature until middle life or later and thus elude vocational guidance in the early years of life.
12. Talent is unsocial, being available for use against or for the common weal.

PROBLEMS

1. Distinguish between talent and genius.
2. Why is it difficult to predict the appearance of special ability?
3. What is the biological basis of talent?
4. What is meant by "the democracy of talent"?
5. Explain the unsocial nature of talent.
6. Compare Lombroso's and Adler's theories of genius.
7. Compare Galton's with Odin's and Ward's theories of genius.
8. Which of the special conditions for the maturation of genius would you consider most important?
9. How is society wasteful of its geniuses?
10. What advantage does the genius by hard work have that the born genius does not possess?
11. What may the genius do in order to protect himself from becoming insane?
12. From becoming a social recalcitrant?

13. Why must genius be trained in order to attain to its highest levels?
14. In what sense may everyone not mentally defective become a genius?
15. In what sense is it incorrect to refer to "superior races" and "inferior races"?

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CHAPTER XI

INVENTION AND DISCOVERY

INVENTION is the outcome of uniqueness, talent, genius. It is tangible evidence of superior ability. Invention means "seeing into"; and discovery "coming upon." Invention is more subjective; discovery, more objective. Inventing is more introvertive; discovery, more extrovertive.

The history of invention and discovery is not concerned with "the unoriginal moments of any man's life, nor with the stolid procession that never had a thought of their own," but with the brightest, creative moments of the most fortunate minds of all races of mankind.¹ Inventors and discoverers have appeared among all peoples, from the illiterate to the civilized, from Greenland to Timbuctoo.

ELEMENTS OF INVENTION

Invention involves creativeness. (1) Imagination is basic. (2) Problem-solving activities are necessary. (3) The whole person concentrating on a need is vital to the story of invention. Ordinary mental activities used in unique ways lead to invention and discovery. Superior ability is at a special advantage of course, but much that is called superior turns out to be unique in method.

Invention and Imagination. If invention means seeing into and perceiving new relationships, the rôle of imagining is fundamental. A person thinks along a given line persistently and a new idea comes to him, "pops into his mind," and the result is an invention. When he thinks about two apparently unrelated sets of ideas until a mental flash unites the two, an invention has occurred.

By imagining, a person may bring distant factors together and subtle elements to the surface for examination. Through imagining, new relationships are made plain and invention takes place. For example, in ancient Babylon, individual characters were stamped upon brick, but it was not until centuries later that the simple process of putting the individual characters together and of printing words flashed into somebody's mind. According to Herodotus, Cyrus the Great was halted before the massive

¹ O. T. Mason, *Origins of Invention* (Scribner's, 1910), p. 28.

walls of Babylon until in a flash of insight he perceived how he might turn the waters of the Euphrates aside and send his army along the river bed and under the walls to surprise the hosts of Nebuchadnezzar carousing within. When Heracles started to clean the Augean stables where 3000 oxen had been kept for thirty years, he first pictured how he might turn the courses of the Alpheus and Perseus rivers through the stables and accomplish the seemingly impossible task with little human effort. Cyrus and Heracles alike used their imagination to do the otherwise humanly impossible.

By imagining, a person can search the depths of his own personality or turn the searchlight of inquiry on distant invisible suns. He can discover the unknown, perceive relationships hitherto unsuspected, create new relationships. Edison, the wizard inventor, testifies to the rôle of imagining in seeing problems, in defining problems with precision, in planning possible solutions to problems.

The visionary character of imagining seduces would-be inventors to false heights. To imagine is not enough in order to invent or to discover. Imagining needs to be wedded to knowledge. Both imagination and knowledge require the ballast of common sense, or else much "inventing" will prove a delusion.

Invention and Problem-solving. Invention is problem-solving. Invention arises from needs, from attempts to meet difficulties, from a reasonable degree of worrying. The starting point is usually a problem.

I have seen a hundred students try to crowd through one of two double doors while the other was kept closed. Sometimes, a student, after nearly all the others have crowded through the single open door, looks about and unfastens the closed one, thus allowing the remaining persons to use the double aperture. In other words, most of us most of the time are blind to many of our problems. Problems are not enough; an awareness of them is also a second prerequisite to inventing.

A third essential is found in problem-solving attitudes. Many would rather accept an unsolved difficulty than try to unravel the tangled skein. Curiosity is a help. It is the inquiring mind which plunges through the line of problems to touchdowns. The persons who ask no questions rarely invent. Questioning, rampant in children, is a precious trait² for it precedes invention. The inventive mind is restless until it secures the correct answers to problems. Inquiry, longing for answers, searching, precede invention.

The urge to solve problems is naturally followed, in the fourth place,

² Unless it becomes a meaningless repetition of "why" and "what."

by the collecting and analyzing of data. Scientific invention requires accurate methods of collecting new and needed data, the careful formulation of assumptions and hypotheses, the making of theories on the basis of the accumulated knowledge, the testing of one theory after another by careful experimentation, and untiring, patient effort until invention and discovery result.

Fortuitous Invention. In this process of analyzing, an unexpected relationship may be discovered. In studying an apparatus designed to repeat Morse characters, Thomas A. Edison was looking for possible ways of improving the instrument when his attention was attracted to peculiar humming noises. He perceived a resemblance of these sounds to the human voice, and experienced a flash of insight, the unanticipated invention of the phonograph. Likewise, Daguerre one day left an unexposed plate in a cupboard and later found that it was developed. In the cupboard he found a capsule of mercury, a metal which discharges steam at ordinary temperatures. He then experimented with underexposed plates and mercury, and produced the daguerrotype.

A problem, an awareness of it, an urge to solve it, knowledge of its underlying nature, collecting new data, analyzing data and trying out one possible solution to the problem after another, and finally, the invention itself. The logic of invention is natural growth or sequence. Hence, the possibility of making useful inventions is open to almost any energetic mind.

Discovery or Invention? How does discovering differ from inventing? The two processes are closely similar. Consider the discovery of America: first, there was a problem, namely, to travel by direct route to India; then the brilliant theory that Europe was connected with India by the Western seas; the search, the long journey, the steadfast westward gaze, the holding to the westward course against storm and threats to life; finally, land, not India, but a new continent. The process thus is related to inventing.

However, there is a higher level of inventing—in a class by itself. Inventing may be creative of new relationships; it is not always the coming upon relationships previously existing but not recognized. Creative inventing develops its own relationships. It takes what did not exist before and makes something new—in material, in relationships, in functioning. Problems long existing and accepted as unsolvable are mastered.

The Naturalness of Invention. "Invention is as natural as imitation."³ Every imitation seems to be accompanied by some degree of invention;

³ J. M. Baldwin, *The Individual and Society* (Badger, 1911), p. 149.

nothing is copied exactly. Since every person has had a unique heredity, some unique culture backgrounds, and some unique daily experiences, he will without being aware of what he is doing, incorporate new elements into his activities. He cannot copy without introducing some of his own uniquenesses. He cannot copy another's handwriting without being affected by his own uniqueness in writing. Every so-called imitation involves at least a slight modification or invention, and every invention leads to widespread copying.

Invention begins early in life. As soon as the child starts to talk he begins language invention. He names (a process of invention) his parents and himself (pa pa, ma ma, ba ba). He is alive with new potentialities. Parents and teachers have their minds set upon standardizing him, but in the necessary disciplining, his elders often neglect to study and to encourage his inventive ability. His uniquenesses are likely either to be ignored, suppressed, or played up until he becomes "spoiled." Sometimes they receive no attention unless they take the form of obstreperousness and recalcitrancy, and then in most cases receive ill-advised repressive treatment.

In hearing new words and terms, the child sometimes gives them unique meanings. When he wrongly attaches meanings, he may be scolded or made fun of; his initiative may be repressed. The little girl who upon seeing a homely yellow cat, said: "There goes an orange meow," had put terms together uniquely; and the child who requested to be tucked into bed by saying: "Tighten me up on both sides" was making a simple but new connection of activities. In standardizing children their uniquenesses are often neglected. This danger lurks everywhere from blind parental disciplining to those university instructors who grade pupils high who memorize everything that the instructors propound. On the other hand scientific methods are developing and special abilities are being recognized and encouraged. For example:

A public school teacher could do nothing with a small Italian boy who was unruly beyond description. The principal helplessly gave up the boy as not amenable to discipline and turned him over to a special school. There the teacher quietly watched the newcomer when he was playing in the schoolyard. His special ability to sing expressed itself before the first day was over, and the wayward youth that same day played truant, singing for pay to older admirers in the new special school neighborhood. The special school teacher learned of these facts, and the next morning on the playground, without making reference to the previous day's truancy, asked: "Tony, can you sing anything from the Italian operas?" and in response, Tony sang *La donna e mobile*. "Would you like to take some music lessons?" asked the teacher. With tears quickly welling into his previously defiant eyes, his heart melted and his mind

leaped with the flash and fire of a new enthusiasm—and yet an enthusiasm as old as the human race. He caused no more trouble to the school, and more important, his ability to reproduce, even to create art, and hence to invent, received recognition and effective stimulation.*

Inventing becomes natural when certain mental processes become organized into definite patterns. To analyze problems, to gather new data, to set forth and test hypotheses, to carry on scientific experimentation, to keep an eye out for new relationships illustrate the invention process. Thinking may be organized into blind acceptance patterns or into alert inquiring patterns. Edison developed invention-patterns and never voluntarily relinquished them. Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, at the time of his death, was working on a new invention: namely, a device whereby a pilgrim lost in a desert might save himself from dying of thirst by distilling water from his own breath. Invention patterns continue as long as life lasts.

While invention may be as natural as so-called imitation, it is unmeasurably more difficult. The inventor frequently finds himself facing a stone wall; it is only by faithful, concentrated effort in what seems at times as hopeless experimenting that problems are solved and inventions made. Long, persistent mental effort is the price of inventing; the lazy may copy but they rarely initiate and invent. Almost all prominent inventors have been indefatigable. To invent is natural—to the alert, persistent worker.

PROCESS OF INVENTION

Invention is a process emerging out of special inventive stimuli, providing of course, that human ability is available to be stimulated. The invention process includes the course through which the acceptance of an invention runs. The process does not stop with the decline of an invention, but follows it into its "transmigration" into other inventions. Invention is a piling up, an accumulation, an integration process.

The Inventive Atmosphere. Invention is "catching." The spirit of invention spreads provided that intellectual activity prevails. Invention flourishes in an inventive atmosphere. An age of fashion as opposed to one of custom, represents inventive craze as well as imitative craze. Behind countless superficial fashions is commercially stimulated invention.

Discoveries likewise come in droves. About the year 1500 there was a host of land discoveries—discovering land became a fashion. Since about 1915 aviation records and inventions have had the limelight. Since 1920

*From interview with H. W., a special school principal.

radio inventions have followed one another in quick succession. One aviation or radio achievement stimulates others.

An inventive atmosphere is created largely by social stimuli. A whole nation may fall into a kind of stupor, and persons be put to sleep by social inertia, living and dying without becoming aware of inventive possibilities. On the other hand, social activity, alertness, and recognition can multiply inventiveness. Social self-satisfaction, intolerance, and stagnation kill inventiveness; social superiority and haughtiness can poison it; and social recognition and reward can make it leap forward.

Notice how business and large-scale industry have eagerly sought material inventions, and how in consequence such inventions have overshadowed all others. A full recognition of artistic ability in our country is coming tardily, and American creative art as a result is not yet epic. A group can stimulate into fruition almost any kind of inventive talent by creating an inventive atmosphere.

A difficulty regarding inventions for the improvement of social organization is to get them fairly tested. A movement for a uniform child labor law meets unsuspected opposition. Since society has no laboratory apart, and must experiment upon itself, it moves cautiously as a rule. L. L. Bernard suggests:

If any group of people, such as those of North Dakota or Russia or some colony of economic or social enthusiasts, are willing to subject themselves to the rigor of an experiment in trying out theories of social revision or invention, it might properly be regarded as the sensible procedure for the rest of the world to feel grateful to them for trying the experiment, thus testing the workability of the theory. By saving us the trouble of making the test, they are doing us a favor instead of being our enemies.⁵

The Invention Cycle. Inventions are cyclical. Inventions pass through stages. Gabriel Tarde recognized three stages in the invention cycle: an incline, a plateau, and a decline.⁶ Sometimes the decline means that an invention has been swallowed up in a newer and better invention. Inventions often live on in their successors.

(1) The incline is generally gradual. Inventions are sometimes accepted with reluctance. The first steam engine, travelling at the fearful rate of ten or fifteen miles an hour, was long considered by many people a work of the devil. The first person to walk along the street in Philadelphia carrying an open umbrella, it is alleged, was jailed. A book far ahead of its time often remains unaccepted for decades. Beethoven died

⁵ L. L. Bernard, "Invention and Progress," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXIX, 28.

⁶ *The Laws of Imitation* (Holt, 1903), pp. 120, 158, 174.

almost unknown. Mendel's announcement of the laws of heredity were not noticed for forty years. Doctrines of evolution have met with prolonged opposition. The slant of the incline of an invention depends on the prejudices it meets and on its own merits. Some invention inclines are steep; the automobile because of its utility met with ready acceptance. Fads are characterized by precipitous inclines.

(2) The plateau of an invention may be short or long, depending upon its usefulness, the development of better inventions, and the like. A "best seller" lives for a few months. The bicycle enjoyed a short-lived popularity for the automobile eclipsed it. The sailing vessel occupied first place for centuries in ocean transportation; the steamboat finally captured the honors, and bids fair to hold them for some time.

(3) The decline may be abrupt, gradual, or extended. It may be so gradual through the centuries as to be unrecognized. Many widely adopted inventions gain the support of custom and tenaciously hold on long after more serviceable inventions have appeared. Inventions become built into behavior patterns and outlive their usefulness. Superstitions exhibit long-drawn-out declines. Now and then an invention decline is sudden owing to displacement by a new and better device. Spurious inventions may be "found out," and dropped; useful inventions may be suddenly discarded owing to the rise of new conditions.

The Logic of Inventions. Inventions are cumulative. They lead to further inventions. Every valuable invention releases possibilities of new inventions. Each is a cultural base for another. Each is a stimulus to someone to make the next logical invention. Inventions as a rule are not sporadic; they follow one another in sequences; they constitute processes.

The objective succession of inventions and discoveries is far from being accidental. America could hardly have been discovered by Columbus had he not first accepted the idea that the earth is round. The sailing vessel could not have preceded the ordinary boat; cooking processes could not have antedated the discovery and control of fire; the watch spring waited on the tempering of steel. Books are written only after language symbols have been invented. Complex ideas follow simple ones. An epic poem waits on profound experiences.

No invention is final. Each is a forerunner. Each is a potential parent of generations of inborn inventions. The pressure upon the truly imaginative, alert to invent, is insistent. Persons are called to be creators and joint creators.

Necessity is sometimes the mother of invention. Circumstances forced

Robinson Crusoe to invent. Many a person has surprised himself by his inventive achievements under pressure. Exhaustion of productive lands stimulated experimentation in dry farming and irrigation. An ultimate scarcity of crude oil will call forth a substitute for driving power, and then a substitute for the gasoline engine.

Necessity is more often *not* the mother of invention. Necessity avails only when the indispensable preceding inventions have been made. No degree of necessity could have produced the wagon until the wheel had appeared. No invention on any level of complexity could be made until the underlying invention levels have been built up.⁷

Some inventions grow logically. They are "perfected in use."⁸ Other inventions are first planned out and then tried out. J. M. Browning is credited with planning in all their details his two main types of machine guns, not in the shop, but in the desert. He planned them out in all their details in his thinking, without putting pencil to paper. Plato's *Republic* is a planned-out invention. In primitive days it is probable that most inventions grew out of needs. Among trained people, most are probably planned out. L. L. Bernard has called the results of these two processes, empirical inventions and projected inventions.⁹

Inventions have piled up until we live in a cultural world of inventions. Every word and letter in this book is an invention. The chair in which you are sitting; the pictures upon the walls; the clothes you wear; the buildings in which you work and sleep; the food you eat, from puffed wheat in the morning to the Neapolitan ice cream of the evening dinner. The newspaper, the office, the church service, the marriage ceremony, Leybach's Fifth Nocturne, St. Gaudens' Shaw Memorial—all are inventions. We live and move and have our being in a world of inventions.

Civilization is a synthesis of inventions. Culture is a complex of inventions. How many invented processes are combined in the typewriter, in the radio, in the aeroplane! Unravel the combinations of inventions in a baseball game. Who can disentangle the sequence of inventions represented in the Constitution of the United States, in Hamlet, in the Bible?

Everything and every idea bears the injunction: Let us invent. Educational systems have been built on the copying pattern; they are just beginning to develop inventing patterns in children. Activity, initiative, interstimulation, focalization, invention, creation—this is the commanding logic of metal interaction.

⁷ W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (Huebsh, 1922), p. 83.

⁸ L. L. Bernard, "Invention and Progress," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXIX: 16ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*

LEVELS OF INVENTION

Invention may be viewed in terms of uniqueness levels and of cultural levels. The first refers to the degrees of complexity of the inventions themselves; the second relates to increasing complexity of aim and purpose that is served. Inventions rise from the simplest in nature to the most complicated; they also extend from manipulating nature to serving mankind.

Uniqueness Levels of Invention. Invention involves originality in different degrees. The lowest level involves simple modification. Most invention is modification. Nearly all new ideas and appliances reaching the United States Patent Office are classified as improvements—on previous inventions. In other words such an invention is a small projection beyond a previous invention.

To change a gourd into a receptacle for carrying water, to use a stone as a weapon, to change a cave into a cave-house, to give a slant to perpendicular windshields, to cut down an automobile seat for sleeping purposes—these are first level inventions. Inventions that are natural modifications of previously discovered relationships are the easiest to make and the most common.

Many inventions are elaborate series of modifications and improvements extending over centuries. The invention of the steam engine was in process for at least a century and a half. It goes back to the æoliphile¹⁰ made by Hero of Alexandria in the second century B. C., to a type of steam windmill developed by G. Branca about 1629, to the steam apparatus manufactured by the Marquis of Worcester in 1663, to the application of steam power to various kinds of machines by Thomas Savery about 1700, to Papin's idea of the piston, to Newcomer's piston engine, a model of which James Watt was repairing when in 1763 he set to work to eliminate the waste of steam due to alternate chilling and heating of the cylinder. With this problem in mind, Watt worked for six years before he had perfected the separate condenser in 1769, the date at which it is popularly said that the steam engine was invented. This invention, therefore, involved more than the observation of a tea-kettle and the immediate bursting forth from the brain of Watt of a twentieth century mogul. It involved countless improvements, modifications, inventions.

A second level of inventive originality involves not modifications but

¹⁰ An instrument illustrating the expansive force of steam generated in a closed vessel, and escaping by a narrow aperture. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia.*

complex combinations of known relationships.¹¹ To connect a bucket and a rope and a wheel for the purpose of drawing water from a well is one of the simpler combinations. To attach a foot lever to a wheel in order to free the hand, or to put pneumatic tubes on wheels are other well-known combinations, seemingly simple after they are done, but beforehand not recognized.

A third originality level of invention is found in creations or marked deviations. They involve the recognition of unapparent relationships. They grow out of modifications and combinations but range up into the field of brilliant flashes of insight and the creations of geniuses. Many represent the recognition of relationships apparently unconnected. The invention of the cipher, the discovery of fire, the creation of a world epic, any one of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies illustrate the type.

For fifteen cents Robert Browning bought "a dry-as-dust report of a Roman murder-trial" of 1689. Under his creative touch this report was first modified, and by brilliant flashes of insight emerged in ten poems, each giving a different view of the case but all based upon the same fundamental facts. The product was *The Ring and the Book*.¹² No hard and fast lines can be drawn between modifications, complex combinations, and creations. The most elaborate modifications constitute creations, many complex combinations amount to the same thing; while creations themselves never could have sprung into being without appropriate antecedents. All three levels of uniqueness in invention are continually lighted up by flashes of insight. They represent in general however an increasing scale of difficulty and a decreasing scale of frequency.

Cultural Levels of Invention. Inventions appear on four main cultural levels. In primitive groups the chief struggle is to outwit nature. The Eskimos, for example, "must use the cunning of their eyes and their hands to convert animal life into the coin of the realm—food and fuel. The process makes them uncannily inventive. Out of apparent nothingness they create the necessities of life and a few luxuries." In these words from the story of Nanook of the North the lowest levels of invention are noted.

On the second level man is engaged chiefly in outwitting his fellow men. His inventions help him to secure personal control. He seeks leader-

¹¹ F. Paulhan in his *Psychologie de l'invention* (Paris, 1895), Livre II, divides the modifications which constitute inventions into three classes: (1) natural evolutions, (2) transformations, and (3) marked deviations.

¹² E. E. Slosson and June E. Downey, *Plots and Personalities* (Century, 1923), p. 105.

ship patterns to manipulate his fellows and to "lord it" over others. He pits himself against the shrewdest of his human competitors.

Then, there are the inventions for securing group control. A person invents not to outwit nature or his fellows but in order that his group may dominate. Business groups seek to outdo one another, and nations struggle against one another for international control. War brings out powerful inventions on this third cultural level.

A fourth level is to invent cultural patterns for mutual welfare of all concerned, for better understanding, for higher forms of coöperation. Patterns of socialized efforts on a large scale are developing. Inventions which will stimulate persons to serve others without expectation of special gain to themselves or their groups are greatly needed.

Most inventions of course are socially neutral. They may be used to destroy or to reconstruct human values. Gunpowder, nitro-glycerine, TNT, Lewisite gas may serve or destroy man. The printing press carries the best socialized teachings of the New Testament around the world, or disseminates filth far and wide. The telephone as easily transmits lies as truth. An aeroplane may carry food to resuscitate dying children or bombs to blow them to bits.

The social value of inventions depends on the attitudes of the persons who use them. As inventions become more complicated, more and more powerful weapons are available for the evil-minded. The need for inventions for stimulating socialized conduct is imperative. There is special danger of creating more powerful material inventions than man can direct to constructive ends. With every new advance in material inventions a parallel advance is needed in socialized control.

Spiritual inventions such as literature, music, advertising are also being used destructively. Man needs inventions to offset or to cut down these tendencies. Subtle forms of propaganda are now among man's greatest enemies. If technical invention will ultimately "transform all mechanical work into supervision," then the need for the invention of techniques of socialized supervision is all-important. If non-material inventions are to be turned against human welfare, then the invention of techniques for controlling the anti-social spiritual inventions is vital.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Invention is a process of creating new relationships.
2. Discovery is coming upon relationships not previously known.
3. In depicting problems and possible solutions to them, imagination is essential to inventing.

4. Invention is problem solving.
5. It is as natural to invent as to imitate although more difficult and less common.
6. Inventing is "catching": one invention is a stimulus to make others along the same line.
7. An invention is often fortuitous.
8. Necessity is not the mother of a needed invention when the preceding basic inventions have not been made.
9. Inventions are natural evolutions of, transformations of, or marked deviations from preceding inventions.
10. An invention runs a cycle of incline, plateau, and decline.
11. Inventions are cumulative, being built on previous inventions.
12. Inventions are socially neutral.
13. When inventions for the control of physical forces outrun inventions for the control of social forces, civilization is in grave danger.
14. Civilization is an integration of inventions.
15. Inventions run a gamut of levels of increasing uniqueness and of social usefulness.
16. The highest level of inventing is in the field of socialized processes.

PROBLEMS

1. What is invention?
2. What is discovery?
3. How are inventions and discoveries sometimes accidental?
4. If it is natural to invent, why do we not invent more than we do?
5. How early in life does rudimentary invention begin?
6. What is meant by an inventive atmosphere?
7. When does necessity fail to lead to invention?
8. Why are inventions characterized by cycles?
9. Why are most inventions socially neutral?
10. What menace lies in an excess of inventions for the control of physical forces over inventions for the control of social forces?
11. Can you name anything in daily use that is not an invention, or does not involve an invention in its use?
12. Why are so many persons who have made inventions unknown to us?
13. Explain: The time is ripe for an invention.
14. In what sense are there few persons who are fully qualified to use inventions?
15. What inventions can you name which are not used both for and against human welfare?
16. If Edison had lived as a native of Central Africa, what would have been the nature of his inventions?
17. Describe the probable mental process which immediately preceded the invention of the bow and arrow.
18. How far can inventions be predicted?
19. "Is it true that every invention opens up avenues for new forms of dishonesty?"
20. How is invention related to leadership?
21. Name an important invention that is needed at the present time. Why is it not made?

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CHAPTER XII

LEADERSHIP TRAITS

LEADERSHIP is a process of changing the attitudes of numbers of persons in important matters. It is always a single process finding expression in a multiplicity of ways. It may be chiefly *mental*, *social*, or *executive*. *Mental* leadership finds expression chiefly in ideas, *per se*; *social* leadership, in action; *executive*, in procedures. While mental, social, and executive leadership finds distinctive expressions, all have certain behavior traits in common. Certain human traits are universally found in the leadership process, whether mental, social, or executive.

UNIVERSAL TRAITS

Imagination, already discussed as a personality trait, may be considered here in its leadership rôles. Through imagining, a person is able to project problems and possible solutions—whether mental, social, or executive. Through imagining, a person can roam the unknown, make new “finds,” penetrate the baffling, set the stage for leadership. Imagination may run ahead of experience, invite and beckon the pioneer, save many a useless step, catch the meanings of the heights of life, recognize human needs, and point out the ways to meet the unanswered longings of the many.

A socialized imagination opens to its possessor the experiences, problems, and attitudes of other persons, and enables him to divine human longings. A socialized imagination puts a person into social situations, enables him to understand these situations, and to plan disinterestedly the needed services.

Foresight is another underlying trait. Foresight enables a person to postulate the chances of defeat, the possible ambushes, and prepares him beforehand for specific emergencies. He is “not caught at a loss of information, nor taken by surprise.” The following excerpt from a life history of a college student is a case in point.

J. desired to become a public speaker, and so upon entering college he applied to and was received into membership in a debating society. He did not stop with taking his place on the program once every six weeks according

to his turn. He prepared for every debate so that whenever one of the regular participants did not appear at the weekly meetings and a volunteer was called for, he was ready for the emergency, and soon became recognized as a debater of merit. The next year, as a sophomore, he "made" the university debating team, although at the beginning of his freshman year he was untrained and green.¹

Foresight is "looking before," before others do, before problems arise, before matters grow bad or worse. Foresight puts a person ahead of his fellows—in analyzing, in acting, in planning and executing. Foresight gives a person "the jump" on his competitors; it puts him in fortunate places; it gives him credit for being "lucky" when there was no luck but just a look ahead.

Flexibility is vital. The leader is one who is "old enough to have assimilated the work of his predecessors, but not so old as to have lost the ardor and flexibility of youth." Habits of thinking and acting are not wholly determined by physical age. Flexibility is a youthful trait. The best way to maintain it is to frequent the youthful and the alert, and to seek out new and stimulating human situations.

Versatility is valuable in offsetting the dangers of specialization. Leonardo da Vinci's skill as both a scientist and an artist; Michaelangelo's versatility in the fields of art; Roosevelt's quick turning from affairs of state to playing bear in the White House with his boys, his skill in writing and boxing, as a naturalist and a statesman; Paderewski as a statesman and a pianist; Herbert Hoover's versatility as an engineer, a social relief agent, and a statesman: all these are leadership qualities.

Inhibition is essential in all leadership. It enables a person to conserve his energies and to direct them to specific ends. It prevents dissipation. Under the strain of modern life with its unending demands, trivial, provoking, overwhelming, a person must constantly inhibit impulses in order to do a few things well. According to Booker T. Washington, "character is made up of all the moral qualities and inhibition is the one perhaps most essential to genius."² By inhibition a person may own himself and become an integer in the world.

Inhibition gives a person poise when others have lost their heads. It provides for reflection when persons are swayed by excitement. It holds its head high when people are grovelling in the dust. It remains calm, cool, and collected when mobs rage and storm. It gives a person mastery when others are giving way to passion. It says, "Wait," when fools are rushing around in circles. It is ready for wise action when people have

¹ From ms by B. S.

² *Up from Slavery* (Doubleday, Page, 1901), p. 39.

worn themselves out in riotous living. It is the balance wheel of leadership. Let us now turn to specific leadership fields, and consider in order some of the additional personality factors that have special value, taking mental, social, and executive leadership in order.

MENTAL LEADERSHIP

The inventor, the poet, the philosopher are representative mental leaders. By the processes of thought they may exercise special influence over multitudes. They work away unseen "far from the madding crowd." Their influence is felt later if not at once. They indulge occasionally in social contacts, but as diversions. They may not be interested in leadership, as such, or in human welfare; their achievements, however, classify them as leaders and perhaps as outstanding group benefactors.

Mental leadership is often an expression of *introvertive* tendencies. He who thinks about thinking is headed toward mental leadership. To ponder, to reflect, to question, to think problems through prepares one to be a pioneer of the intellect.

Intelligence tests reveal potential mental leaders. The brilliant in their studies are on the way to become trail blazers. Persons who are able to think more abstractly than others are the most likely to become captains of thought.

In the clash of mind with mind superior psychical qualities assert themselves. It is unfortunate, however, that human conditions sometimes make bright people dull, turn them into wastrels or automatons, and bind their minds with red tape. Lester F. Ward wrote of meliorism,³ a state of society where everyone would be free to live, to do, to create freely. Under a state of meliorism no one would be hampered by impinging environments, no superior abilities would be kept on the grindstone of everyday routine.

"Meliorism means the liberation of the will, so that it may assert itself as freely and as vigorously as it ever did under the rule of blind impulse. It means the massing and the systematic application of all the vastly increased powers of developed man to the perfected machinery of society. The avenues of action are to be cleared and not choked up as at present. Different social movements are to be along appointed paths and not in opposite directions in the same path so as to neutralize each other. The combined social will may thus be so adjusted as to exert its full force

³ Meliorism means ameliorated, or adjusted to the best and mutual advantage of all.

in one harmonious and irresistible effort toward the accomplishment of the supreme social end."⁴

Reflecting and rationalizing are characteristics of mental leadership, which also involves teaching, writing, creative effort in art and science. Mental leadership reacts against administrative duties; against "doing." It plans for reform but loathes the details of making reforms. It analyzes, synthesizes, explains, deduces, generalizes. It lives in the company of ideas; it thrives by manipulating ideas. It is so busy in reflecting that it grows absent-minded, drifts from normal social contacts, becomes impractical.

SOCIAL LEADERSHIP

Social leadership includes a measure of self-assertion and aggression. The social leader must appear before people; he needs to be at home in directing others. He feels that he has something worth while to give others, and does not hesitate to "step out."⁵

In being chosen to lead and in leading a few times, a child develops leadership patterns. He develops a leadership technique enabling him to meet a variety of social situations. He gains in skill until in social crises he keeps cool when others are rattled.

A fine *physique* is helpful in social leadership. People still admire size especially when it is accompanied by ability. When the group ranks a tall man superior to a short man it identifies size with mental ability. But size alone is not a leadership quality unless accompanied by mental ability. Fortunately the latter is found in short and small people as often as in the tall and large. The facts presented by E. B. Gowin suggest interesting conclusions. The executives of insurance companies are taller than the average person who holds an insurance policy, bishops are taller than the rank and file of clergymen, university presidents than college presidents, city superintendents than small town principals, sales managers than salesmen, railroad presidents than station agents. These leaders also weigh more than average persons, but they are undoubtedly better fed and cared for physically—a result as well as a cause.⁶

Physical energy and endurance are more important than size or height, for they enable mental ability to function continuously. They more than compensate for lack of stature. In the long run they lead to achieve-

⁴ Lester F. Ward, *Pure Sociology* (Ginn, 1914), p. 144.

⁵ The social leader, however, must be careful not to become "aggressive."

⁶ See E. B. Gowin, *The Executive and His Control of Men* (Macmillan, 1915), which contains considerable data upon social as well as executive leadership.

ments which attract group attention away from shortness of stature or similar characteristics.

Self confidence is essential for social leadership. He who has no confidence in himself cannot arouse it in others. To lead well a person must feel that he can measure up to the occasion, or else his followers will sense his wavering and fall away. The best basis for confidence is knowledge that one has the needed skill.

To rely on confidence chiefly is bluffing, and fatal. Over-confidence causes a person to undertake too much. He may leap too far and make a spectacle of himself. Over-confidence creates superiority attitudes which are antagonizing; it creates a social distance that defeats leadership.

An unadvertised confidence is valuable for it drives a person ahead without arousing mistrust or jealousy. It enables a person to surprise others by unexpected achievements. It wears well, arouses secret respect, draws forth unsolicited praise.

Enthusiasm electrifies. It was Paul Revere's ride; Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death"; Sheridan's "Turn boys, turn, we're going back"; Roosevelt's "We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord"; Wilson's "Make the world safe for democracy," which reinvigorated tired and disheartened followers.

The social leader is noticeably extrovertive. He "loves to act"; lives in a world of action. His thinking is centered on people and "activities." He is a "go-getter." He challenges and likes to be challenged.

Every significant social movement revolves about striking personalities. "Not until the cause, the movement is embodied in one or more masterful personalities who lead the mass, is there any chance of the success of the cause."⁷ As a rule people are not stirred to action by abstractions; they cannot develop loyalty to a cause as well as to an able personality.⁸ Christianity thus originated in a self-sacrificing yet dynamic personality and was carried forward by virile personalities. The anti-slavery movement in the United States was led by courageous souls. Democracy the world around has been championed by heroic men and women.

In choosing leaders the attention is usually on the leader. It is equally important to analyze the social situation for which a leader is needed. To put a leader in charge of a social situation blindly and to expect him to make good because he has done well in some other situations is unscientific. In a report by W. H. Cowley, based on studies made at the

⁷ C. A. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion* (Macmillan, 1922), p. 149.

⁸ *Ibid.*

University of Chicago, tentative conclusions are drawn indicating that leaders in different social situations do not necessarily exercise the same traits and that leaders in four specific situations that were studied did not exhibit even a single trait in common.⁹

EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

Executive leadership is a combination of mental and social leadership. The executive leans toward the mental leader in that he invents plans, but these plans relate to action more than to ideas. His mind plunges into new fields, but in order that these new worlds may be conquered and turned to concrete uses. He is creative, but his creations are new social organizations.

On the other hand the executive also leans toward the social leader. He manipulates his fellows, but prefers however to stay behind the scenes in so doing. Until recently the captains of industry as a class have shunned public speaking. They have preferred to limit their public appearances to a bow and a "Thank you." The executive is a master in "handling men," but through well thought out schemes rather than directly.

The executive lives an associative life to be sure, but with a few chosen lieutenants and friends. He toys with people. He is so busy in attending committee and board meetings, and in holding private conferences that he has little time for deep reflection on life itself or on human progress.

As a rule the executive is characterized by greater physical energy and endurance, but by less sound theorizing than the intellectual leader. He is closer in touch with the world of affairs, more red-blooded, more daring. He engages regularly in taking risks. He gambles, or verges thereon, with ease. His is a wearing life; his is a work in which enemies are made. When it is said that a leader who makes no enemies is not worthy of the name, the executive type is meant.

Because of the greater strenuousness, the executive is better paid than intellectual leaders. He bears more responsibility and is paid well therefor. Because of his more daring rôle, the executive receives higher recognition from society than most intellectual leaders; the latter work for ends more intangible, lead a less exhaustive life, enjoy greater personal freedom, and by later generations may be rated higher.

The difficulties of combining a strenuous administrative life with a reflective laboratory life are almost insuperable. It is only persons with

⁹ *Jour. of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII: 144-57.

an extraordinary energy and endurance and a definite schedule of hours who can keep up both procedures. Usually they alternate between both, although this procedure is not easy, for success both administratively and intellectually usually leads to multiple demands and a breakdown.

An executive must know *details*. He must know his own organization from the bottom to the top. Note the following reactions of a successful business man, Franklin Remington:

If I were a stenographer, a clerk, or an office assistant in a big company, and had ambitions to become an important executive of it, I would study that business from the ground roots up. I would learn every last detail of the domestic markets. If supplies came from foreign countries, or any of the finished products were sold in them, I would learn the histories of those countries, the business and social customs of their peoples, and whatever else was available in the line of general information. In short, I would see that I was better informed on some things, at least, than the head of my department or the head of the business. Sooner or later, when some question was under discussion, I would be in a position to volunteer information that would surprise him. Nothing more surely attracts an executive's attention to an employee than to learn from that employee something that the executive didn't know himself.¹⁰

Organizing ability is necessary to most executives and to many social leaders. Through organization a leader can multiply himself many-fold; he can release himself for creative tasks. Merely to build a powerful machine, however, is not enough, for such a procedure leads to autocracy. The best leader is he "who makes his associates great." By this method he may perpetuate ideas and personality in the most dynamic ways known to man. A true leader builds his personality into the lives of others and thus achieves a multiple personality.

Organizing ability ranges from a systematic use of one's own time to the development of a gigantic self-perpetuative social institution. It means order in the day's work and coöperation among associates. It involves forms and standards and dedications of personalities to a cause. It sets examples and inspires others to create.

The executive is *emanatory*. He throws out one idea or suggestion after another. His followers turn to him when no one else can master a dilemma. His associates look to him as plants turn toward the sun for light. He sets forth applicable programs. Francis E. Clark, or "Father Clark," the founder of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, at the organization of the society established the practice of announcing a new two-year world program at each biennial convention. By the time one program was being completed, another was on its way to the ends of

¹⁰ *American Magazine*, XCIV: 16ff.

the earth. Such emanation keeps followers busy doing new things; it establishes stimulating leader-follower situations.

The executive and social leader must set examples as well as suggest ideas. Without action on the part of the leader, the followers do not maintain dash and vim for long. A leader must be willing at all times to demonstrate his plans and to blaze the trail. Of course after leadership prestige has been well established the leader's appearance "on the front lines" is not as imperative. But prestige is fickle, and cannot be maintained long without new and greater achievements.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Leadership is a process of changing the attitudes of numbers of persons in important matters.
2. Imagination is a leadership trait, for it enables a person to put himself into other person's lives and to interpret social situations correctly.
3. Foresight puts a person "ahead" of his fellows and hence makes him their leader.
4. Flexibility and versatility permit a person to master a variety of social situations.
5. Inhibition gives a person that poise and that conservation of energy which guarantee sustained leadership.
6. Mental leadership is superior thinking.
7. Social leadership is superior acting.
8. Executive is superior planning and carrying into action.
9. Self-respect and self-confidence beget respect and confidence in others.
10. Enthusiasm appeals to a universal hope.
11. Organizing ability enables a person to multiply himself many-fold.
12. Emanation or the giving out of worthy ideas and plans generates leadership.

PROBLEMS

1. What is leadership?
2. Why is marginal uniqueness a leadership trait?
3. Why do social groups falsely rate physical size as a leadership quality?
4. What is the danger of stressing the results of intelligence tests in gauging leadership ability?
5. What is the chief value and the chief weakness of self-confidence as a factor in leadership?
6. How is desire for recognition both a help and a hindrance in leadership?
7. How may inhibition be both helpful and harmful to leadership?
8. Why is organizing ability a significant leadership trait?
9. Are leaders egotists?
10. Explain: "Be your own Thomas A. Edison."
11. For what reason is focalization of one's psychic energy becoming more and more difficult?
12. How does the specialization that creates leadership often produce mental habits that defeat leadership?

13. How may a leader radiate stimuli and not exhaust his supply of new ideas and procedures?
14. In what ways are executive and reflective leaders different?
15. In what ways alike?
16. Why is present achievement better than past achievement as a test of a leader's ability?
17. What is meant by "individual ascendancy" as opposed to "social ascendancy"?
18. Is the proverbial individualism of the old-time farmer the same as the individualism of the urban leader?
19. Why do so many people imagine their leadership ability so much greater than it is?
20. Explain: It is the work of a leader "to pull triggers in the minds of his followers."
21. Which boys are the more likely to become good leaders: those from mansions or those from cabins?
22. How can a leader of splendid ability but of immoral habits be prevented from demoralizing the group?
23. Why do the sons of leaders of the "self-made" type rarely show the qualities of leadership which their father manifested?
24. Have "all advances in civilization" been due to leaders?
25. Are urban or rural communities in greater need of leadership?
26. Why are some of the world's most valuable leaders unpopular?
27. Is a young man or an old man more likely to be lead by his associates?
28. Why does a leader's boasting beget suspicion rather than confidence?
29. Why does leadership assume maximum importance in times of transition?
30. What are the characteristics of a successful yell leader?
31. How far should one's personality be projected into one's work?
32. When should a leader be an agitator; when a compromiser; and when a "standpatter"?

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CHAPTER XIII

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

LEADERSHIP, particularly of the social and executive types, has in recent decades taken a decidedly democratic turn. A leader who is working with people as distinguished from one who is dealing with ideas must keep in mind the reactions of his fellows and followers. In the days of brute life, might made right, but to-day a leader cannot long order his followers about without losing their support and possibly his own life. In a day of a rising youth movement, increasing numbers of human beings cannot be browbeaten. Autocracy still rules with an iron hand in parts of the earth, but democratic leadership is being insisted upon more than ever before—even by those who do not half appreciate a truly democratic leader.

What is democratic leadership? As one way of analyzing the term, 158 persons were chosen to act as judges on the behavior content of democratic leadership. They were all known as intelligent leaders in a wide variety of groups, and they included: public school administrators and teachers, business men, ministers, Federal Board men, university professors, social workers. Each was asked to choose an outstanding democratic leader and to describe three or more things which the chosen leader did that gave evidence of the democracy of his leadership. The emphasis thus was placed on behavior over a period of time. The best evidences of leadership are found, not in what one person thinks about a so-called leader, but in what the alleged leader actually does.

When the 478 evidences of democratic leadership that were cited by 158 judges were examined it was found that 52 were stated in subjective terms and hence were discarded, leaving 416 evidences for classification. Although there was an overlapping, yet a five-fold classification developed naturally.

FOCAL POINTS OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

1. The first class of evidences relate to *goal*. The goal of democratic leadership is "the welfare of other persons." One set of evidences referred to increasing the opportunities for the development of other persons. W. E. B. Du Bois once put the idea as follows: Democracy is "a

willingness to look for and encourage ability wherever found." Representative evidences of this type and illustrative leaders are:

Originated the normal school for the training of teachers. (Horace Mann.)
 Led the movement for giving votes to women. (Susan B. Anthony.)
 Provided industrial training for fellow Negroes. (Booker T. Washington.)
 Brought classical music within the reach and appreciation of the masses. (Theodore Thomas.)
 Manufactured inexpensive motor cars for the common people. (Henry Ford.)

The promotion of group welfare is a related goal. It may be the labor group, the religious group, or the nation group in whose behalf effort is expended. Every leader may promote group welfare for personal gain, but the democratic leader seems to act for group welfare for its own sake chiefly.

Formed a nation out of discordant colonies. (Washington.)
 Held the United States together. (Lincoln.)
 Made the whole country's welfare his reason for a conservative program. (Roosevelt, Pinchot.)
 Established and maintained a confederate organization composed of many varieties of local labor unions. (Gompers.)
 Spoke and wrote for world friendship and world democracy. (Wilson.)

Another way in which the goal of welfare is illustrated by democratic leadership is when the respective leaders take the side of weakness against power and of injustice against special privilege. The illustrations are many.

Struck off the shackles from the enslaved Negroes. (Lincoln.)
 Fought the trusts to a standstill and urged on every hand a square deal for the weak. (Roosevelt.)
 Supported helpless women in industry against corporate greed. (Brandeis.)
 Championed immigrants and the poor when in trouble. (Jane Addams.)
 Took the part of the "kids." (Ben Lindsey.)

It is easy to help a few select friends, one's own personal groups, but to work without thought of personal gain for the welfare of strange groups, of groups remote, of the world-group is a matter of broad sympathies and far-reaching understanding. To help others occasionally is common, but consistently, in season and out, is rare.

2. A second class of evidences of democratic leadership relates to the manner of coming to decisions regarding goals and the attainment of goals. The democratic leader consults others, those most concerned, authorities, even opponents sometimes, before acting. The democratic method of ar-

riving at decisions, namely, by securing the combined judgment of all involved, may be adopted by any person or leader.

The democratic leader uses the discussion method of arriving at decisions. Not a majority opinion but a consensus of opinion is sought. Not debate but a mutually sharing of viewpoints obtains. Decisions are made by the group of consultants including the leader as an individual member.

Not the method of ordering but of sitting down and talking matters over with lieutenants until they themselves want to do the needed or the wise things, is followed by leaders such as Alexander Johnson. Mr. Johnson says that when he was a member of the Indiana State Board of Charities and found something that needed correction: "I talked to the superintendent, not as a superior officer . . . but as man to man. . . . I believed that a reform brought about in this way from within, was a real one, while a new procedure forced on an official by pressure from without and not really appreciated by those who must practice it might have worse results than the method it had supplanted."¹ Every person is capable of setting constructive examples and by kindly, sympathetic means of stimulating an active following for a worthy cause.

Called in and consulted with persons of opposing beliefs as a basis for action. (Roosevelt.)

Put opponents in the cabinet. (Lincoln.)

In educational situations, tries to understand the point of view of all concerned. (J. R. Angell.)

Established the open forum. (Coleman.)

3. A third way in which democratic leadership is expressed relates to the *manner of carrying out decisions*, of getting things done, of securing action. Dictating is supplanted by setting an example, by indirect suggesting. Since each party has had a voice in arriving at a decision or program he is responsible for the outcome, and he assumes initiative in carrying out the proposed procedure. By showing the way and sacrificing self, the leader secures coöperation. By restraining egoistic urges and letting others receive public attention and credit, followers are stimulated to become leaders themselves.

Leadership that is democratic rarely drives; it attracts and magnetizes; it arouses one's social nature and secures whole-souled coöperation. It consists in stimulating people to feel toward you "as loving children do toward their father."² In describing his own methods of leadership

¹ *Adventures in Social Welfare* (Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1923), p. 89.

² Alexander Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 84.

(democratic) Alexander Johnson declares that followers should be encouraged to question decisions at any time and to make criticisms and to insist on explanations, or otherwise a person is not fit to lead. The significance of the statement: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," is found in the fact that a sacrificing, loving personality is a leading and not a domineering, arbitrary one.

He made people feel that he was their servant rather than their overlord. (Lincoln.)

He led the way and others were stimulated to follow. (Roosevelt.)
He never said "Go"; he always said "Come." (Alexander Johnson.)

The fourth way in which democratic leadership is shown relates to motivation or purpose. It involves rendering service without expectation of reward. Profits, rank, exercise of power—all these and other mundane enticements do not appeal. A cause or principle is espoused for its own sake though it cost the leader his life. It is only when a leader acts without accepting reward over a long period of time that his behavior may be given the highest of ratings. Every person acts without expectation of reward in behalf of chums; but to include large numbers of people, of strangers, of opponents is not so common.

He refused to be made king. (Washington.)

He sought neither wealth, rank, power, nor any other reward for his services to his country. (Lincoln.)

5. Another manifestation of democratic leadership is showing an at-oneness with the humbler members of society. The great easily do this; but the "near-great" often "put on airs." The great prefer simplicity.

In simple speech and deed he voiced the ideals of the peasantry. (Lincoln.)
Identified himself with the philosophy of "Poor Richard." (Franklin.)

Rode to Washington on horseback without attendants, tied his horse to a post and walked unceremoniously into the Senate Chamber for his inauguration as president (Jefferson.)

He chose plain people, plain ways, plain clothes, and simple plainness of speech. (Emerson.)

Did not hesitate to talk, dine, or work with the plainest citizen. (Roosevelt.)

Never forsook the poor and defeated classes, living always after their fashion. (Jane Addams.)

This at-oneness is sometimes simulated in order to take advantage of the unthinking. Tammany's hold over the East Side is due to what is alleged to be partly feigned attitudes. In season and out Tammany can count on support irrespective of the qualifications of its candidates for

office. The Tammany precinct captains are on the job continually, identifying themselves with the people's immediate problems. It has been said that if there is an eviction, the precinct captain is ready to render help; if there is an arrest, the captain goes to court with the person charged with an offense; if there is sickness, the captain arrives ahead of the priest; and if there is a death, the captain is on hand before the undertaker comes. Hence revelations of graft do not shatter the hold of Tammany upon its followers.

PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

1. In most democratic leaders the foregoing five classes of behavior are not found in equal proportion. One or more types may be missing. In certain cases the goal may be democratic but the method of coming to a decision undemocratic. Democratic methods of reaching decisions and of carrying them out are likely to be found together, although the latter procedure does not necessarily follow from the former. The first, fourth, and fifth types are likely to be found together, namely, a democratic goal, an altruistic purpose, and an at-oneness spirit. In its complete sense democratic leadership involves personal behavior that seeks to increase the welfare of other persons, that uses a consensus method in arriving at decisions, that is carried out magnetically by example, that seeks no rewards, and that emanates from simple living.

2. In the next place it is evident that democratic leadership is open to all mentally normal persons. All above the mentally defective levels may exhibit one or more of the five classes of democratic leadership behavior. It would seem that John Dewey takes too narrow a view when he says that "democracy multiplies occasions for imitation, not occasions for thought in action."³ Democratic leaders are hardly worthy of the name unless they stimulate other persons to be democratic leaders in their turn.

Despite the difficulties involved democratic leadership is not reserved for a select few, but is possible to the many. If democratic leadership numbers not only its Lincolns and its Roosevelts but also its worthy exponents among common everyday folk, then its possibilities are unlimited. If democratic leadership is widely possible then it behooves everyone to measure up to his possibilities, to choose wisely between setting a worthy example and being careless in his social relationships, to be on his guard at all times against speaking unfeelingly or thoughtlessly, to act wholesomely rather than ten degrees less than wholesomely, to favor the use of

³ *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1923), p. 72.

choice English rather than to slouch back into the use of "slanguage," to keep his behavior on an others-centered rather than on self-centered plane.

At times of greatest discouragement it behooves a person to remember that his very defeats afford him new sympathies and a better understanding of the struggles of other persons, and hence, may multiply his democratic leadership possibilities. He may also remember that these possibilities cannot be stolen from him. The democracy of leadership is one of the most dynamic and valuable of personality traits.

3. A person may falsely delude himself into thinking that he is a democratic leader. A foreman who has come up from the ranks of unskilled labor may naïvely declare that he knows all about working conditions, but as a matter of fact he may be quite "unable to guess at the picture in the worker's head, and hence to understand his actions."⁴ The exercise of power has given the foreman new experiences and new attitudes which tend to separate him from the men working under his orders. A foreman or even a corporation president may feel that he knows the worker's mind because he himself was once a day laborer or perhaps a newsboy. He overlooks one important fact, however, that he has developed a success complex or success patterns. He has been moving up round by round, while the day laborers, of whom he was once one, are often the victims of repression and failure complexes. He who has risen from a humble level of life has had success-promotion experiences, and hence has developed a success pattern, while he who has worked hard for a lifetime at the same routine tasks has experienced more disappointments than recognition, has lived a non-promotion existence, and has acquired attitudes of acquiescence or restlessness. At least his attitudes are different from those of his former associate who has achieved success.

A manufacturer may feel that he understands his employees because he himself once worked the long day. Even though a churchman, a Christian, a democratic person, he may turn against his employees when they grow restless and go on a strike. He points out that he has always worked a long day, and why shouldn't they? He forgets that his long day is self-imposed, and that his employees feel that their long day has been imposed by an unjust economic system, a soulless corporation, an interlocking directorate. He forgets also that his work is full of stimulating problems at which he works hour after hour without realizing the passage of time, but that the factory worker's task or the coal miner's job varies little from day to day, has little stimulating about it, and has produced

⁴ C. R. Walker, *Steel* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922), p. VII.

a dull and stupid laborer except when aroused by the injustice of his situation. The employer's work is thought-arousing; the employee's is devoid of mental electricity. One thinks of nothing but his work; the other cannot keep his mind on his work—for it has so little new in it. Hence the latter grows restless without knowing why; he grows revolutionary, as his employer would do if tasks were interchanged. A person working long hours at a self-appointed enterprise that is vibrant with stimuli easily loses the point of view of a person crushed beneath monotony. With this loss in social understanding, democratic leadership departs.

4. Even the democratic exercise of social power often weakens itself. "It is impossible not to swell a little," says Bruce Bliven in speaking of the President of the United States, "when you are subtly reminded a thousand times a day of your own greatness, when your casual cough is worth a hundred feet of motion picture film, and it is a great event in the life of any fellow to be seen coming down a flight of steps with you."⁵

One president of the Republic of China after another has started out as a democratic exponent, but has become obsessed with the use of power and turned out to be a menace.⁶ In the United States Jeffersonians have contended for liberty and have expressed fear of a strong federal control, yet when they came into power from Jefferson and Jackson to Wilson, they have "become converted to the idea of the powerful exercise of central authority and have out-Hamiltoned the Hamiltonians. And it has been equally curious that a man of the Hamilton tradition, when his party was out of power, has always been impressed by the terrible autocracy of the executive." The influences due to exercising power, even democratic power, often defeat democratic tendencies. For example:

The evolution of Boies Penrose is an amusing commentary upon American politics in more ways than one. Three years after he was graduated from Harvard College he was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature on a reform ticket. His election was made the occasion for great rejoicing on the part of the good people of Philadelphia. And well might they rejoice. They had at last driven a wedge into a sinister political machine that had brought the city of brotherly love into disrepute as a boss-ridden municipality.⁷

It is significant that James Bryce in the first edition of his *American Commonwealth* cited Penrose as an example of the sterling type of young Americans who were rescuing the municipal and state governments from the grip of the vicious boss system, and that in later editions of this book the name of Penrose as a reformer was expurgated.⁸ The exercise of

⁵ *New Republic*, XXXVI: 332.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXVI: 328.

⁷ *The Mirrors of Washington* (Putnam, 1921), p. 234.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

power had produced an intoxication of power. This intoxication had turned the enemy of bossism into one of its leaders.

The most promising democratic leaders are not always those who grow up in the peasant class, who afterwards receive professional or business training, and then enter into political, religious, or economic leadership, but those who "having achieved an intellectual and social superiority over the average peasant class yet remain members of this class and continue to share all the interests of their class."⁹ It is the Lincoln type of men who maintain the best principles of democratic leadership. Because Lincoln always kept human sympathy aglow, he rarely if ever fell from democratic grace; he was able to recognize the secret doors in human walls, going "unerringly to the place within those walls that was his."

Power-using patterns are inimical to the full exercise of patience, sympathy, wholesomeness. A religious leader, preaching the spirit of love and meekness, easily develops patterns of pounding the pulpit and of praying that love may dominate in the world, implying that love lords it over people rather than serves. Power may be exercised arbitrarily in behalf of democratic goals and thus vitiate its cause.

A leader may accept power fully determined to act democratically, but before long finds that it is easier to act for others than to get them to act. Through practice a leader may become so efficient that he grows disheartened in training newcomers. He tends to shift to selecting trusted and capable lieutenants with instructions to act as they think best for the multitudes. Through lack of social education, through being interested in close personal details, and through bewilderment at social complexities, the multitudes on the other hand are content to turn over their democratic sovereignty to undemocratic leaders. Many factors thus operate to turn democratic leadership into autocratic channels.

5. Because democratic leadership produces results slowly many of its exponents grow weary in democratic doing. It takes time to train other persons to act efficiently. Tact and skill and time are necessary. But in stimulating others to become democratic leaders, a person is multiplying new centers of constructive influence. By putting democratic responsibility upon worthy persons a leader may create a thousand other worthy leaders.

In contrast the autocratic leader may secure results more quickly but he will produce untrained and subservient followers. When he drops out, his place will be fought for by upstarts and chaos may result. The democratic leader, on the other hand, by following slower and more tedi-

⁹ Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Knopf, 1927), II: 1311.

ous processes of stimulation, may train up a host of followers who will be able to carry on democratically. The autocratic leader may create a remarkable organization and thus perpetuate his personality for a time, but history shows that autocratic organizations lack the social sympathy and intelligent coöperation necessary for permanence. Democratic leadership throbs with sympathetic understanding and creates increasing deeds of mutual helpfulness.

EVOLUTION IN LEADERSHIP PATTERNS

The main trend in leadership patterns has been from autocratic to paternalistic, and then to democratic. Now and then reactions have occurred, but the general trend has been unmistakable. Autocratic leadership as a rule is easiest. A strong hand, superior knowledge of human nature, skill in manipulating people, have turned the trick.

The paternalistic leader is an autocratic one on the defensive. He perceives the needs of others more clearly than they do themselves, and fulfils their needs for them. Sometimes he will help certain people but not an entire class. Sometimes he renders aid in order to quiet a guilty conscience. Sometimes he indulges in social welfare as a salve to soothe restless victims of the autocracy which he really represents. He may receive much applause as a social benefactor but at the same time leave the masses at the mercy of those at the paternalistic apex.

The paternalist does things for people but fails to create the means whereby people "may do for themselves." Paternalism fails to stimulate initiative properly, for it makes devotees rather than self-reliant leaders. It results in a kind of slavery, putting its recipients under such obligations that they cannot own their own souls. "Every time the leader does something for the community that it may do for itself, he prevents the community from developing its own resources."

The democratic leader moves the center of social activity into the lives of his followers. He sacrifices immediate efficiency for ultimate development of the personalities about him. He is forever transferring power from himself to democratic leadership in others. He sees others large and himself small. He ties himself to no small group but associates with the world and humanity. Albert Einstein well illustrates the last-mentioned point:

Full well do I know that in order to attain any definite goal it is imperative that *one* person should do the thinking and commanding and carry most of the responsibility. But those who are led should not be driven, and

they should be allowed to choose their leader. It seems to me that the distinctions separating the social classes are false; in the last analysis they rest on force. I am convinced that degeneracy follows every autocratic system of violence, for violence inevitably attracts moral inferiors. Time has proved that illustrious tyrants are succeeded by scoundrels.

For this reason I have always been passionately opposed to such régimes as exist in Russia and Italy to-day. The thing which has discredited the European forms of democracy is not the basic theory of democracy itself, which some say is at fault, but the instability of our political leadership, as well as the impersonal character of party alignments. . . .

This subject brings me to that vilest offspring of the herd mind—the odious militia. The man who enjoys marching in line and file to the strains of music falls below my contempt; he received his great brain by mistake—the spinal cord would have been amply sufficient. This heroism at command, this senseless violence, this accursed bombast of patriotism—how intensely I despise them! War is low and despicable, and I had rather be smitten to shreds than to participate in such doings.¹⁰

PROPOSITIONS

1. Democratic leadership has as its goal "the welfare of others."
2. Democratic leadership arrives at decisions in mutual coöperation with others.
3. Democratic leadership carries out decisions by getting the followers to volunteer responsibility.
4. Democratic leadership is motivated without expectation of personal gain.
5. Democratic leadership exhibits an at-oneness with the humblest group members.
6. A leader is rarely democratic in all the above-mentioned particulars.
7. Democratic leadership is open to all persons not mentally deficient.
8. Democratic leadership is often professed by persons who have falsely deluded themselves that they are democratic.
9. Democratic leadership is subject to degeneration through experiences in exercising it.
10. Democratic leadership produces results so slowly that some of its champions desert it.
11. Leadership patterns have undergone an evolution from autocratic to paternalistic and then to democratic.

PROBLEMS

1. What is democratic leadership?
2. Why is democratic leadership a more elusive object of study than autocratic?
3. Why is Lincoln often rated highest among American democratic leaders?
4. How would you rate in order of importance the five classes of democratic leadership cited in this chapter?
5. Which would you rate higher, a democratic goal as such or democratic methods? Why?
6. Why is it difficult for a democratic leader to remain democratic?

¹⁰ Albert Einstein, "What I Believe," *Forum*, LXXXIV: 194.

7. Why do many leaders begin maturity as radicals and die conservatives?
8. Why is it difficult for a bank president who was once a day laborer to understand day laborers' attitudes, after he has risen to prominence?
9. What is meant by the universality of democratic leadership?
10. Why does democratic leadership produce results slowly?
11. Which is easier: to lead democratically or autocratically?
12. Which requires the greater ability?
13. What is the chief advantage in getting others to do things for themselves instead of doing things for them?
14. Should an elected leader really represent the wishes of his constituents, or should he exercise his own judgment?
15. Should leadership in the family be centered in one person, or should it be shared?
16. How do you account for the evolution in leadership patterns?

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CHAPTER XIV

LARGE SCALE LEADERSHIP

LEADERSHIP usually finds expression between persons of somewhat similar culture traits. The Pope is not accepted as a leader by Protestants or Robert C. Ingersoll by Catholics. Al Smith is not a cheered captain of the Anti-Saloon League and Kirby Page excites no enthusiasm in a R. O. T. C.

A person who succeeds in rising ever so little above the mountains of age-long culture of which he is a part, is entitled to wider recognition than are other leaders. The exponents of accepted culture traits may become able defense leaders but they are not to be rated as high as the protagonists of newer and more adequate culture traits. The latter rôle requires more courage. It is easy to "whoop-er-up" for the past but dangerous to challenge that same past. Lincoln the Emancipator is rated above Lincoln the Unionist. Roosevelt the champion of social justice in 1904 will be remembered when Roosevelt the exponent of war in 1917 is forgotten.

DIVERSE CULTURES AND WORLD LEADERSHIP

In its broadest aspects leadership involves not only diverse cultures, but the accommodation and assimilation of these into some kind of unity. It implies the creation of a world culture, but this would not need to be a culture of similar traits. It could be an organization of dissimilarities. As the culture of a local community is a unity of dissimilar traits, so a world culture would doubtless follow a similar pattern. In order to be intra-stimulative it must be made up of dissimilarities. It would be a unity in organization of dissimilarities.

Moreover, large-scale leadership denotes an organization of distinct population areas, each with its own physical resources, traditions, customs. When it is considered that these areas are separated by seas and barren territory, that climates vary, that physical resources are widely different, that culture backgrounds are diverse, the complexity of developing world leadership is baffling. Most disconcerting of all is the fact that the rank and file of people everywhere do not think in terms of world

culture. They are all trained in group cultures. A basic problem therefore in world leadership is the creation of a needed world culture.

Current developments in international and interracial communication are offsetting a decreasing immigration and the resultant decline in exchange of culture traits. Rapid communication is overcoming spatial distance. While the social types of world leaders need to be in personal contact with their followers, the intellectual and executive types are under no such restrictions. The latter types, however, need a strong social imagination¹ in order to keep in touch with the experiences of separated and divergent peoples.

TYPES OF LARGE-SCALE LEADERS

Here and there in human history, a leader has stood out head and shoulders above fellow leaders. His vision has taken in a large portion of the world's need; his message has had a universal appeal; he has dreamed world dreams. Local and national leaders have at times been eclipsed by leaders whose influence have leaped cultural boundaries and set up new culture patterns for many peoples. Such persons may be referred to as large-scale leaders of one type or another.

Prominent types of world leaders are historical realities; current times also have their examples of world leadership. The varieties range through the political, the religious, the esthetic, and other fields. Some of these types will now be presented.

1. Alexander the Great, Caesar, Napoleon are outstanding historical examples of historical world leaders of the military-political vintage. They were highly egocentric, ambitious to use the world as a footstool, but not anxious to lose themselves in promoting world welfare. The first Fascist dictator of Italy has set a strong-arm pattern that appeals tremendously to imperialists everywhere. He has given them great satisfaction because he forcefully championed dominance and arbitrary control of the masses. They think that they see in him a needed type of world leader for dilly-dallying, befuddled times. And he, receiving the plaudits of multitudes and seeing himself a headliner in the newspapers of many nations, apparently gives way to egoistic inflation and pictures himself first as the supreme ruler of Italy, then of the Mediterranean basin, and finally

¹ It was Charles H. Cooley who was one of the first persons to develop the significance of the social imagination. "There is nothing more practical than social imagination; to lack it is to lack everything." *Human Nature and the Social Order* (Scribner's, 1922), p. 141, first edition, 1902. The idea was further developed by Charles A. Ellwood under the title of "sympathetic introspection," *Psychology of Human Society* (Appleton, 1925), p. 34.

as one of the few world potentates. He dreams perhaps, of a world empire that Cæsar scarcely imagined.

But such a pattern of world leadership to-day begins to fall of its own weight as soon as it is set up. Even imperialistic Americans revolt at the thought of trading off our national Congress, Supreme Court, the President and his Cabinet for one autocratic Dictator. Imperialists revolt against a dictatorship unless they can be among the little dictators ruled over by the big dictator. Dictatorships reach national control, but strive pitifully for world dominance. Recall the rise of Wilhelm II to national acclaim, but witness his downfall when he leaned toward the scepter of world mastery.

2. At the same time that political rulers have been aspiring to a dictator dominance of the world there have occurred in religious realms movements more indirect and democratic involving a universal hegemony. Christianity, for example, has moved in that direction. Through its powerful missionary enterprises from the one inaugurated by St. Paul to those carried out by the Jesuits or by the followers of St. Francis, to the modern Protestant program of the Christian "evangelization of the world in this generation," there is omnipresent the thought of making the Nazarene the Lord and Master of all the earth. The aim has been to secure for the Christ a spiritual rather than a material control, a leadership directly of the spiritual and hence indirectly of the material world.

The followers of Mohammed have grown excited over a somewhat similar leadership for their hero and his religion. Quietly pervasive the followers of Buddha have sought a world recognition for the Enlightened One. The list is long but none the less real of movements looking toward a world control with someone who once trod the earth as the acknowledged leader of all. The pattern of world leadership has thus been made very real to millions of the sons and daughters of man.

3. The most common and age-long form of world leadership is that which changes the culture traits of the civilized world. In the invention of a thousand and one universally useful devices, Thomas A. Edison has become a world leader. He has changed many material culture patterns the world around. Marconi revolutionized communication, and acquired world fame. In the manufacture of multimillions of inexpensive motor cars Henry Ford has also unintentionally illustrated the culture change type of world leader. Such persons are often marked individualists. Their attention centers largely on their own activities. They do not seek to be world leaders, but by their contributions to all civilized cultures they automatically become world leaders.

Lindbergh is an outstanding popular world leader of the same type, but in a different way. Avowing that his one interest is in commercial aviation, he is giving the pattern of international aviation such a pleasing setting that increasing thousands of people are becoming air-minded. Moreover, his own modesty, his surprising skill, his simple, constructive habits, his refusal to make a vaudeville fool of himself or to sell himself for gold—all individualistic traits, have combined to make him a social hero, a commanding world figure, an ambassador of good will to the world. He has set a personality pattern that attracts the admiring attention of the world.

Philosophers illustrate another section of this class of world leaders. The philosopher cuts across the continents and up and down the ages. His philosophic system is universal in scope and hence has a wide appeal. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle are not simply Greeks; they are claimed by mankind. Kant, Bergson, and Dewey speak and are responded to by no one race but by all. The abstract reasoning of the philosopher is dedicated not to a few but to everyone anytime who understands and who readjusts his own life to a larger and more satisfying interpretation of life and of the universe.

Inventors of material objects share world prominence with writers of epic poetry, with painters of Madonnas, with composers of soul-stirring oratorios. Since art speaks a universal language, its supermen and women may rightfully be called world leaders. The voice of rhythm and melody is irresistible in all climes. Creators of masterful art become world masters.

Beethoven with his Nine Symphonies sets the world to music. Wagner and Verdi have produced universal patterns in grand operas. Michaelangelo, Raphael, Titian have painted art patterns for mankind. Phidias and St. Gaudens have turned cold stone into everlasting personality. Shakespeare towers before the world to-day in drama as never before. Tolstoi has put social ideals into world literature patterns. Such leaders in art and literature have played a commanding rôle of world leadership.

Still another section of the culture-changing type of world leader is the motion picture star. Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford are known, admired, and copied in all lands. They and many others are setting new culture patterns for the youth and all motion picture devotees. They influence by the use of art and action. They are seen, heard, and admired by millions daily. They create stereotypes in people's minds. They challenge the old and outworn. They bring new culture patterns into con-

trast with old ones. By their stirring ways, their histrionic ability, catchy music, and appealing voices they become world idols.

4. Another type of world leader is represented by national officials interested in international coöperation. Briand, MacDonald, Stresemann, Hoover, have used their national offices to promote international agreements. In each case the nation's sovereignty is guarded. Whatever world improvements come must not deprive the nations of their traditional rights. The point of view remains national, and the leaders are responsible to national cultures. They do not dare to take an unrestrained world viewpoint, for there is no unified world culture to support them. They are leaders holding fast to strong national support who have dared to sally forth from their national vantage grounds. They have not been engaged in creating a world culture but rather in manufacturing new and substantial unities out of culture traits already extant. They seek progress toward world peace step by step.

5. A rare expression of world leadership is both official and world-centric. Only one brilliant example may be cited, namely, Woodrow Wilson, and even his claim to such distinction may be challenged. He spoke directly as the official head of a powerful nation to all races in terms of world values. His ideas were phrased with such literary skill that people irrespective of race caught the sense of world feeling which they breathed, and responded to them with all the fervor that the human heart can muster. He rose above the storm clouds of conflicting nationalisms, and proclaimed a new world culture pattern. He was boldly willing to risk a tangible portion of national sovereignty in behalf of a new expression of world sovereignty. Setting up the rudiments of a World League, but sacrificing here and there to other national leaders who would not go as far as he, he came home from Paris to find that antagonistic politicians, jealous of his prestige and fearing for national patriotism, had made vicious onslaughts on his position. There were no adequate supporting public opinions or culture patterns, either at home or abroad. Although he did not have the skill or the time to build up these in his last few broken months, his claim to having promulgated an important world culture pattern grows stronger with the advancing years. At his prime people in all countries almost worshipped him. Then came a falling back, but now a moving forward with the name of Woodrow Wilson symbolizing a new world era.

6. Another grouping of large-scale leaders is of an unofficial world-centric type. They speak fearlessly in behalf of world values, even when these contradict national values. They are sometimes called national traitors, but they reply that to be less world-minded is to be a traitor to

one's nation, that one hundred per cent nationalism in this day is a narrow doctrine, bound to lead nations into mutual conflict and possible degeneration. They are represented by men who travel from nation to nation, and who keep in touch with the pulse of many lands. Holding no political positions they do not have to cater to small-minded politicians and prejudiced voters. They enjoy the freedom of speaking as their consciences dictate; they possess the heroism of martyrs for a worthy cause. John R. Mott has been recognized by many people in many lands as a conservative world leader of this type. Hundreds of thousands not only in his own country, but in Japan, China, India, as well as in Europe, look to him for encouragement. In their trips around the world men like Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, Frederick Libby, and youthful Stanley High have fearlessly attacked militarism, the champion pet of hyper-nationalism, described the evils of a rampant materialism, depicted the grinding processes of a hard-hearted capitalism. They have urged a new world order. Without losing poise they have received epithets of pacifist and traitor, but have gone ahead with faces set like steel toward a new day of justice for the oppressed classes the world around. David Starr Jordan in his world peace plans and standards is another unofficial world-centric leader. Mahatma Gandhi, T. Kagawa, and others, have set their hands, hearts, and brains to ushering in a new day for mankind. Many of these persons seem to have received a religious motivation for the world behavior patterns that they urge. They speak and act with conviction. They move forward, like one of old, as having especial insight in the needs of war-sick, sin-beridden, oppressed human race.

Destructive world leadership is still a danger. It still raises its cobra head from unsuspected ambushes; it is often represented in the first of the six aforementioned types. However, constructive world leadership is not a phantasy. From at least five different constructive directions (two to six inclusive in the aforementioned classification) world-minded leaders are overcoming the rugged inclines of local and national prejudice, intolerance, myopia. Inventions ranging from the simplest devices that meet universal need to advancements in international communication are laying the sure foundations for a world culture. Magnificent patterns of world appeal have been created in art and literature. Broad-gauge national officials are conservatively moving up the heights of world organization. Within the century an intellectually scintillating champion of a World League has captured at least the imagination of multitudes. Free-lance thinkers are climbing over national barriers and raising high the insignia

of a united human race. While world leadership has not yet acquired momentum, it has arrived, it is real. It is worth studying social psychologically for it is engaged in shaping a new chapter in social evolution.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Leadership advances beyond local and national group control into world power.
2. Large-scale leadership is handicapped by the many diverse and opposing racial, religious, and national culture complexes.
3. Large-scale leadership means the integration of widely different culture complexes.
4. Egocentric nationalistic leaders ever and anon make a spectacular clutch for world empire.
5. Religious followers have made tremendous sacrifices to place their respective leaders in a spiritual world control.
6. Inventors of universally useful material and spiritual culture patterns unintentionally gain wide acclaim.
7. Here and there a national leader has sought goals of world welfare through political compromise and agreement.
8. A world-centric leader occasionally rises in attempts to shift human control from national centers to a universal center.
9. Free lance leaders of human thought travel up and down the earth proclaiming a new world day.
10. World leadership is writing a new chapter in social evolution.

PROBLEMS

1. When is leadership easy?
2. When is leadership the most difficult?
3. Why have world leaders been so few?
4. What is the relation of leadership to culture complexes?
5. Why did world leaders such as Alexander, Cæsar, or Napoleon fail?
6. Why is a single religious leader far from being universally accepted to-day?
7. What accounts most for Lindbergh's wide popularity?
8. What most hinders national leaders from becoming international leaders?
9. In what ways was Woodrow Wilson "ahead of the world"?
10. What is the chief weakness of free-lance humanity exponents?
11. What are the main qualifications for a world leader?
12. What principles of social psychology are brought out by an analysis of world leadership types?

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CHAPTER XV

SPECIAL LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS

A NUMBER of leadership problems have already been presented. Others remain, such as: The persistence of autocratic leadership, the polarization of leadership, leadership and group control, evolutionary and revolutionary leaders, the measurement of leadership, and groups as leaders.

THE PERSISTENCE OF AUTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Despite the growth of democratic leadership, autocratic leaders still hold sway in the world. The World War was fought, in part, to make the world safe for democracy, and yet it was followed by a number of dictatorships. Autocracy still reigns in many phases of industrial, religious, and domestic life.

Historically, the majority of leaders have been autocratic. They wielded an iron hand, resorted to brutal punishments, and gave point to the generalization that "might makes right." Outstanding examples have been czars, generals, wardens. Death, torture, the third degree have been common weapons. Arbitrariness, repression, capriciousness have prevailed. The Prussian and other military systems developed automatic, habitual, and machine-like obedience. It is the soldier's duty "not to reason why." A higher level, however, is represented by the West Point method which strives to secure "the loyal support of active minds." According to the West Point idea the soldier is an intelligent person who is being trained to respond rationally to situations and to orders, or to the lack of them, in relation to situations. E. A. Ross concedes that there are "plenty of graduates of West Point and Annapolis who are not in the least military-minded."¹ The older Prussian system turned men into automata; the newer West Point method is a step toward democratic leadership.

Autocratic leaders differ in goal and method. (1) Some seek autocratic goals by autocratic methods. These could hardly survive long to-day. (2) Some use democratic methods to obtain autocratic goals. These are paternalistic. Their goals are camouflaged by kindness. (3) Some use

¹ *World Drift* (Century, 1928), p. 214.

autocratic methods to attain goals essentially democratic. These have usually started out by using democratic methods but have found them impractical. Democratic procedure has been too slow, or the people have not been ready. Many who act arbitrarily would like to be democratic, but find that the wheels of progress are deadlocked thereby.

An autocratic leader appeals to fear and hope. To the extent that his fellows fear him, they follow perhaps reluctantly, hypocritically, for a time—until an auspicious moment to revolt arrives. A person in authority is prone to wield the club of fear over his fellows and thus become a boss, slave-driver, czar. Intimidation has often seemed the quickest method of securing prompt obedience, because “the large place occupied by fear in human nature makes domination easy. Thus, workmen have a fearfulness of losing their jobs and submit to the domination of their “bosses” for the sake of holding the jobs.” Soldiers who fail to obey orders are shot; prisoners who challenge the system are consigned to solitary punishment; motorists who drive past the police are sent to jail.

The autocratic leader may also appeal to hope. It is progress to exchange the whip of fear for the magnet of hope. The progress attained, however, may not be great. Those who obey slavishly, who jump to do the leader's bidding, who follow implicitly, who challenge least, are rewarded; they may even be promoted over the heads of more competent associates. Through appealing to the hopes of his fellows a leader may find himself at the head of an army of blind, docile, servile hypocrites.

A limited appeal to both fear and hope is often justified, but the process cannot go far without creating sham-followers. It is a skilful leader who can keep his goals and methods wholly democratic and not yield to the temptation to build a personal following of underlings through the threat of fear and the appeal of hope. Some political leaders build coteries of office-seekers and grafters; some business leaders create a servile labor force; some educational leaders, a frightened staff. As a result, vigilance committees, labor unions, teachers' associations have been called into operation. Autocracy in prisons brings riots. Concerning the prison situation Frank Tannenbaum says:

The suppression and the lack of personal freedom, the monotony of existence, the constant atmosphere of hatred, suspicion, and contempt, tend to con-
tort, to twist, and to make bitter the attitude of the keeper, toward his charges. The only relation he can have with them is that of dominance, and the only pleasure and play he can get, the only exercise of initiative at his disposal, comes through the imposition of authority. He needs pleasures, because all

² J. M. Williams, *Principles of Social Psychology* (Knopf, 1922), p. 39.

men need pleasures; but his pleasures become, through the prison machine, the exercise of brutality for him and pain for others.³

Autocratic leadership lives long and dies hard. It may delude its exponent into thinking that he is democratic. Continually its ranks are recruited from below by the oncoming generations of ambitious youth; and from above, by the disappointed leaders who have tried to be democratic and have failed. Autocratic leadership is so closely related to action that it appeals far and wide.

POLARIZATION OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership acquires a multiple momentum. If a person succeeds he is called on repeatedly. If he becomes a leader in one field, he is called on in other fields. To the degree that his leadership grows, the demands from all directions multiply. Demands polarize on him.

In other words, piloting tends to come into a few hands. Leadership in related or overlapping groups tends also to become focalized in the same few. There is a natural basis, therefore, for the rise of interlocking directorates; the natural tendency is often stimulated by artificial means through monopolistic desires. The polarization of the leadership process has been presented by F. Stuart Chapin,⁴ who advances the following generalization: "Leadership in the community is usually vested in an inner circle of personnel common to several active groups."

A person may be expected to reach a saturation point. He cannot act as an efficient leader in an unlimited number of groups and in unlimited capacities. He reaches his limit. There is a correlation between the number of groups in which a person can be a leader and the average intensity of his participation in all of them. After a maximum of intensity of leadership in a maximum number of groups is passed, then the groups begin to suffer unless they seek new leadership.

"I am getting tired," says an executive, "of relying on people with big reputations to work for me. I would rather have people who are not so widely known. They will do more and better work as a rule." In these words is stated the law of the diminishing returns of leadership. Groups may encourage the polarization principle of leadership too much. As a result they suffer. The alternative is to develop a technique for spreading out the leadership within each group, or for developing a larger percentage of a group's membership into leaders. A group needs to set up

³ *Wall Shadows* (Putnam, 1922), pp. 28, 29.

⁴ "Leadership and Group Activity," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII: 144.

educational and leadership training programs to offset the natural pull toward the polarization and consequent exhaustion of a few best leaders.

During his lifetime of leadership a person feels or is made to feel that his services are very important. He feels that things cannot go on without him. He "carries on" when ill, and meets engagements when common sense would restrain him. However, after most leaders drop out of the scene of action, the world moves on pretty much as before. Here and there is a leader whose loss is rarely if ever counter-balanced.

LEADERSHIP CONTROL OF GROUPS

Leaders manipulate, represent, promote, or originate groups.⁵ 1. The group manipulator is sensitive to the emotional urges of the group membership. He is quick to voice popular desires. Often by playing upon popular feelings or by gross advertising of himself, he obtains popularity and control. As a rule he does some good, but fails to give his constituents adequate returns for their investment in him. His objective is not their advantage but his own. He uses his followers as stepping stones or tools. Having once gained group confidence, he trades upon it. Before this confidence breaks, he has made his "pile." By nice-sounding phrases he hypnotizes the gullible. By skilful advertising he catches the fancy of yearners.

Sometimes the manipulator-leader appeals in behalf of worthy causes. For example, Sargent, the manager for Madame Modjeska when the far-famed Polish actress was touring the country, arranged the following stunt which in modified ways was widely copied: "When Modjeska appeared in Washington the rush for tickets was so terrific that the crowd smashed the windows of the box office and tore everything movable out of the lobby, necessitating the calling of the police to quell the riot." This was a carefully planned scheme of Sargent's to advertise his star and the news of the incident was telegraphed all over the country.⁶ Worthy causes and worthy people, however, quickly object to such manipulation in their behalf. Merit prefers to let its achievements speak for it.

The manipulator-leader takes note of vague desires of people, crystallizes the inchoate longings, and capitalizes on them through personal aggrandizement. He sometimes develops so strong a control that he drives his followers to their own and to his own downfall, as the Kaiser and his

⁵ See Martin Conway, *The Crowd in Peace and War* (Longmans, Green, 1915), Chs. VI, VIII.

⁶ *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 1913.

military cohorts led the German people to defeat in 1918. He is essentially autocratic but in a democracy he is an adept at assuming democratic guises.

2. The representative-leader is a spokesman. The people's feelings have been supplemented by thinking until the people "know" what they want. They elect a representative,—a person to speak their wishes for them. Under pure democracy the people represent themselves, but as groups increase in size and life becomes complex it is necessary to choose representatives. The latter are expected to vote not according to their best judgments but according to the constituents' wishes.

Every representative, therefore, soon finds himself in a dilemma: He must choose at times between the majority opinion of his group and his own best judgment. If he chooses the first, he votes against himself; if the latter, he is likely to be defeated at the next election.

In the United States people fail to keep their group representatives apprised of their attitudes, unless they belong, for example, to special economic interests. Hence, group representatives tend to become interests' representatives. They may degenerate into group manipulators in behalf of special interests and experts in log-rolling.

Modern life is developing so many interests that a group representative grows perplexed. He cannot be well versed in all aspects of life. He must spread himself out so thin that he represents no one interest well. The alternative for the group is to select experts and allow them to use their own judgments on details and technical questions, with the people retaining a voice regarding principles and policies. The result is a modified group representative—a cross between a democratic leader and an individualistic expert.

3. The group builder in the best sense studies the needs of the group and leads accordingly. His concern is that his fellows shall have more freedom and justice and be creative. He considers the causes of social friction, injustice, or inertia, outlines steps of reconstruction, and leads the way. He organizes social good will and harmonizes diverse attitudes. He substitutes understanding for ignorance, and open-mindedness for prejudice. He discovers what is harmonious, just, and constructive, and then endeavors to make these values increasingly operative.

The group builder takes a going concern and perfects it. Sometimes he rejuvenates a disorganized group; sometimes he turns a degenerating group right about face. He arouses sleeping potentialities and makes latent forces dynamic. He helps people to build more stately mansions of group organization, and to live a freer and more creative life.

4. The group originator is a person possessed of a new idea who proceeds to win adherents for that idea, and who organizes them. In Western civilization the originator-leader usually calls a small meeting and then a larger meeting, sets committees at work, and directs the establishment of the new movement. History, however, affords other emphases, such as that of the Founder of Christianity, who attempted no special organization, but sought to change human attitudes, allowing reorganized personalities to work out his principles. At his best the originator-leader aims to create leaders, to transform followers into leaders, into leaders superior to himself, to stimulate initiative and invention, to set off flashes of insight in the minds of others, to provide new opportunities for the underprivileged, to make possible a full and rich development of all human personalities.

The group originator cannot move fast lest he build a mere personal machine. It takes time to transform followers into self-initiating personalities in a new movement. Patience, tolerance, stimulation, as well as organization are essential in group originating and building. The group must at all times be educated to a complete meaning of the ideals and plans of the leader. President Wilson's failure to get the support of the American public behind his world ideals is partly explained as follows: "He did not seem to realize that what the Kansas farmer and the Chicago clerk thought of the Fourteen Points was infinitely more important for his hopes and the hope of the world than what reply Counts Czernin and Hertling made to them."⁷ Wilson's magnificent attempt to construct a new world order overreached the attitudes of his group.

REVOLUTIONARY AND EVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

Evolutionary leaders are the exponents of gradual change. They act in times of peace. Quiet and order furnish their best opportunities. In normal times they forestall many crises or lay the foundations for quiet adjustments of crises. A calm in social life does not lull them to sleep. They are ever alert to the need for gradual change, as a preventive of revolutionary movements. They give all new ideas a hearing and many of them an experimental chance. They allow foolish ideas to prove their foolishness.

The revolutionary leader develops when evolutionary leadership has failed. When changes are held back, they accumulate. There is a bursting forth with radical leaders in charge and stern methods used, unless in-

⁷ M. E. Ravage, *The Malady of Europe* (Macmillan, 1923), p. 128.

tellectual stagnation, political autocracy, economic oligarchy, religious intolerance crush out all initiative or shoot all innovators.

The revolutionary leader is a radical bent on securing justice. He endeavors to tip over the régime that blocks all change. Daring, forceful, often ruthless, he destroys some of the good along with the evil of the old order. He leads to a fresh start; he begins to rebuild but finds that the process is slow.

After a revolution has occurred the leaders are in special difficulty. They have developed patterns of action and destruction; they must now substitute patterns of slow construction on new bases with inadequate experience. To change from rapid overthrow to slow reconstruction is contrary to the make-up of many revolutionary lieutenants.

The people themselves find it hard to shift back to obedience and discipline. They are more interested in "dividing the spoils" than in settling down to prosaic reconstruction. Hence, the revolutionary leader faces the danger of counter revolutions. He must change both himself and his followers back into evolutionary-minded persons.

Measurement of Leadership. The idea of measuring leadership ability springs from Thorndike's classic assumption that whatever exists, exists in some amount, and that what exists in some amount can be measured. This idea has found some justification in the achievements of intelligence testing, accomplishment testing, and the like. C. C. Thurstone has strongly contended that attitudes can be measured.⁸ F. Stuart Chapin has given attention to measuring a number of social relationships.⁹ F. H. Allport and D. A. Hartman have made headway in measuring opinions.¹⁰ W. W. Clark also has devised scales for measuring juvenile offenses.¹¹ E. W. Burgess has dared to enter the field of predicting human behavior.¹² All these studies make plausible the suggestion that leadership traits can be measured.

The procedure for measuring leadership would include first the securing of evidences of leadership in a specific field of human activity. These statements would be made in terms of objective behavior. In other words, what are the precise activities of persons who are recognized as leaders in

⁸ "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXXIII: 529-44.

⁹ The Measurement of Sociality and Socio-Economic Status," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII: 208-17; "Measuring the Volume of Social Stimulus," IV: 479-84.

¹⁰ "The Measurement and Motivation of a Typical Opinion in a Certain Group," *Amer. Polit. Science Rev.*, XIX: 735-60.

¹¹ *Whittier Scale for Grading Juvenile Offenses*, Whittier State School (Calif., 1922).

¹² "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole," in *Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence* (Chicago: Parole Board of Illinois, 1928), pp. 221-34.

a specific field? These activities might be described so objectively that they would be clearly recognized and agreed upon by all careful observers.

In the next place the statements of the concrete behavior of persons acting in the capacity of leaders would be graded in importance, perhaps from one to ten. The graders or judges would need to be well trained in social psychology, in the related social sciences, and also in the world of affairs. They should be versed in both theory and practice. Of course the graders might reflect their own personal biases as well as scientific judgments. Unless carefully safeguarded the result might not be a rating of leadership activities but of the graders' prejudices. If some of the graders are autocratic in attitudes and others are democratic, their ratings will be contradictory. Even a high degree of correlation in their gradings might turn out to be evidences of similar prejudices. There are therefore a number of difficulties to be overcome.

The statements of behavior traits of leaders in a given field, for instance, of a clergyman would in the next place be arranged in groups such as those relating to "sermon content," "delivery," "pastoral activities," "administrative activities," "public contacts (outside of church connections)," and so forth. The next procedure involves arranging the objective behavior statements in each group, in order of rated value according to a quartile plan, giving the first quartile a value of 4; the next, of 3; then, 2; and the last, 1. By such a standard sheet it would be possible to score the leadership activities of leaders in various occupations. The results would be more accurate than a guess, or a personal opinion (the present method).

Standard leadership scales could be worked out for many occupations and used as self-rating leadership scales, or by a committee regarding given leaders or candidates for a specific position. The score sheet would be a measuring rod of leadership. Persons for leadership positions could determine what values are rated highest in such positions, and could learn their own strong and weak points from such standards.

Groups as Leaders. Groups dominate other groups. One set of business interests determines the pace. A large nation may lead smaller nations. Special interests are often unduly influential.

Groups as leaders are likely to be arbitrary and autocratic. "Groups are more rapacious than they allow their members to be." There is an individual anonymity in a group which cuts down individual responsibility. Corporations are soulless, it is said, even though they are composed of very fine individual members. Hence, the frequent ruthlessness of groups in power is not strange. The strong group or the powerful majority are

subject to crowd psychology. They easily "lord it" over weaker groups. Any group that gets another in its power is likely to use an iron hand in keeping the weaker subdued.

Groups are often poor followers. The smaller or weaker group usually has members who react against the control of the dominant group. They foment not only dissatisfaction but often rioting or revolution. A most important phase of history has been the revolts of subject peoples against the ruler-nations. Great Britain has done remarkably well in maintaining the ascendancy over Canada, Australia, New Zealand, although she has had her problems with people culturally different from her own natives, as with Ireland, India, or Egypt. Current political situations are rife with revolts against the party in power, for example, in South American Republics, China, Spain. Groups have not yet learned the elementary principles of leadership. They are more likely than not to be stupid in leadership matters. They are wooden in trying to create loyalty in subject groups.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Autocratic leadership still prevails widely in the world despite general expressions of desire for democracy.
2. Although the World War was fought in part to make the world safe for democracy, it was followed by an increase of autocracy.
3. Democratic leaders tend to grow impatient and autocratic.
4. Autocratic leaders may use democratic methods to reach autocratic goals, or autocratic methods in attaining democratic goals: they are rarely autocratic in both method and goal.
5. When other measures fail, autocratic leaders recur to the use of fear.
6. Autocratic leaders possess many sham followers.
7. Autocratic leadership dies hard.
8. Achievement in one line brings leadership calls from many directions.
9. Leadership tends to become overcentralized in a few persons.
10. Leadership may find expression in group manipulators, group representatives, group builders, and group creators.
11. Evolutionary leaders bring about social change slowly.
12. Revolutionary leaders come to the fore when evolutionary change has been repressed.
13. Groups are poor leaders.

PROBLEMS

1. Distinguish between an autocratic leader and a democratic one.
2. Is it easier for a leader to draw or to drive?
3. Is autocratic leadership ever justifiable?
4. Why do some men enjoy being slave-drivers of their fellows?
5. Why is the *polarization* of leadership unscientific?
6. What is the remedy for the evils of *polarization* of leadership?

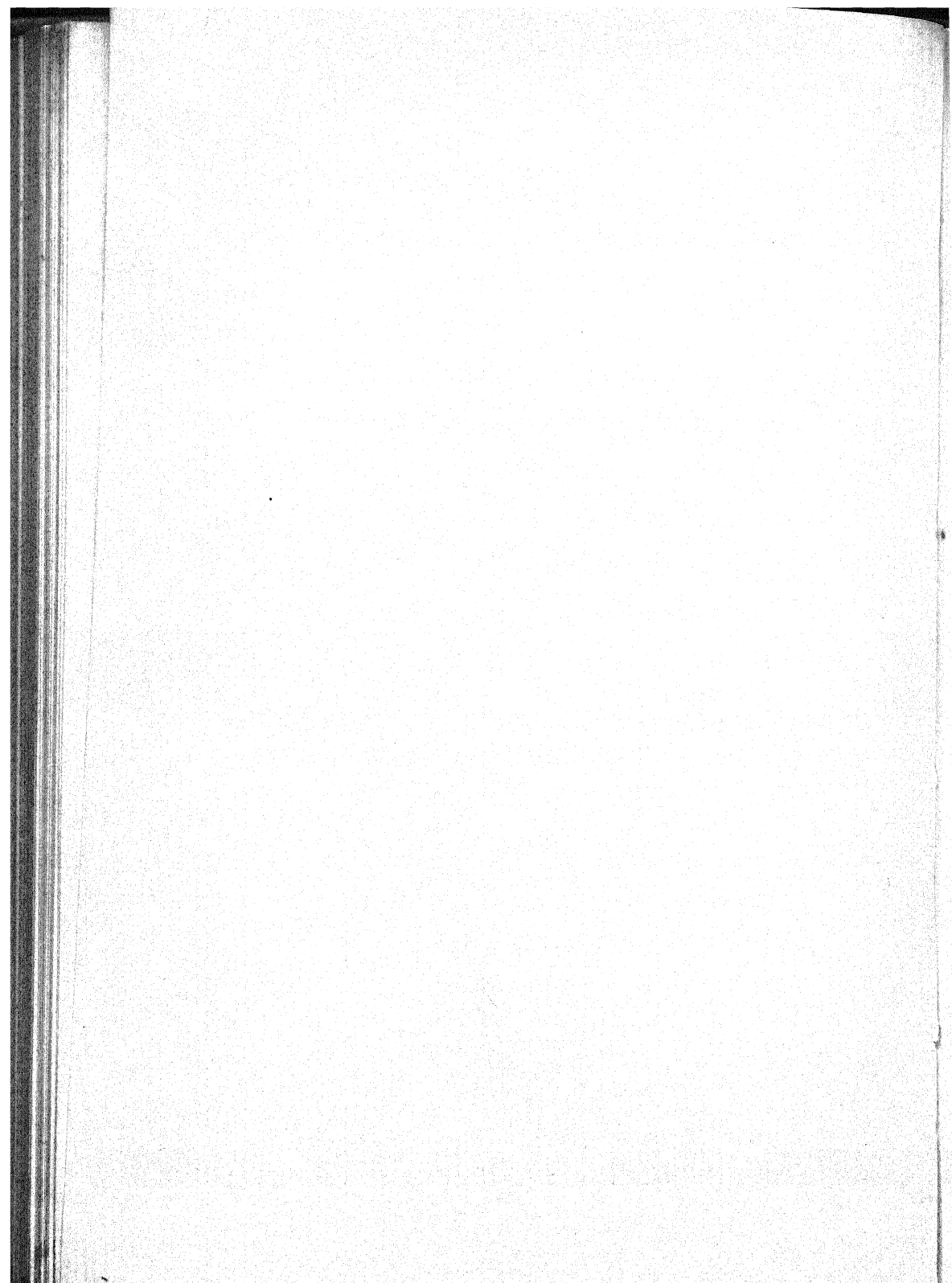
7. What makes it possible for group manipulators to prosper even in modern society?
8. After a revolution has been achieved, wherein lies the revolutionary leader's salvation as a future leader?
9. Why is a revolutionary leader often a product of the failure of evolution?
10. Does a revolution ever occur if the leaders provide for evolution to take place reasonably fast?
11. Why are political autocrats and economic oligarchs usually found together?
12. What are the chief differences between leaders of social evolution and those of social revolution?
13. In what popular ways is leadership continually being evaluated?
14. Can the popular ways of measuring leaders be improved upon?
15. Why are groups poor leaders as a rule?
16. Under what conditions do groups function best as leaders?

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PART III

SOCIAL STIMULATION



CHAPTER XVI

STIMULATION

PERSONALITY and individuality are in part the products of stimulation. They root in heredity but grow up under the rays of stimulation. The process of stimulation is so omnipresent that its importance cannot be appreciated unless social situations be observed where it is missing or ineffective.

Stimulus cannot be separated from response. If there be no response then there is no interstimulation, and stimuli are wasted as on desert air. There is no response when there are no behavior patterns of any kind and no basic urges. There may be no response if behavior patterns are operating strongly in some other direction or if the organism's attention is elsewhere. There is no response if the behavior patterns are all "set" to exclude stimuli, as in the case of gross intolerance or prejudice or blind dogmatism. By considering the absence of stimulation it will be possible to observe more clearly the rôle of stimulation. The world is divided into two hemispheres, stimulation and isolation, with isolation as the negation of stimulation revealing the significance of the latter.

ISOLATION

Isolation is the absence or negation of stimulation. There are many types of situation which are kept from being social by the failure of stimulation. Certain of these will now be considered.

Animal Isolation. Animal groups are isolated from one another. The food call of the mother hen brings no hungry kittens running to her; the cry of pain by a puppy produces no response on the part of the mother cat. There are stimuli in these instances but no adequate mechanisms to respond. Hence it is also correct to say that there are no stimuli.

Animal-human Isolation. Most animals are isolated from human beings. Barring a few exceptions, as in the case of an occasional domesticated dog, the frightened cry of a child arouses no response in animal creation. Of perhaps 150,000 species of animals not more than 50 have been domesticated, that is, introduced into partial communication with mankind. Out of

animal-human contacts, a few simple symbols have acquired meaning for specific animals and enabled the latter to enter the world of human stimulation. The process of taming is that of bringing an animal out of his isolation from human kind into participation. A wild animal is characterized by fear-responses when a man appears; a tamed animal develops at least a few attachment responses.

Individual Segregation as Isolation. Human beings reared apart from society do not respond to most human stimuli. Caspar Hauser is perhaps the best known of such individuals. While the data concerning Hauser are not entirely clear, it seems that he was about sixteen years of age when he appeared at Nuremberg, Germany.¹ At birth he had been left on the doorstep of a Hungarian peasant's hut, and had been reared in seclusion from human beings. It is said that he had been in a dark room in seclusion but that after a number of years had escaped. He had only a simple language; he called both men and women, *Bua*, and all animals, *Rosz*. He recognized no social customs. It is reported that he burned his hand in the first fire that he saw, that he had no fear of being struck by a sword, but that the sound of a drum frightened him. He reacted to pictures and statuary as though they were alive and was delighted with whistles and bright objects. After his death an autopsic examination revealed a small, undeveloped, but otherwise normal brain, signifying that the absence of human stimulation had left him in a brute state.

Another case is that of the so-called "Irish boy,"² who after living with animals until sixteen years of age, was examined by a gymnasium director of Amsterdam. His body was covered with hair, his skin was thick; he had lived with sheep and bleated like them. He took little notice of people. He was untamable. The "girl of Songi" was found at about the age of nine. She came out of the forest of Chalons, carrying a club with which she killed a dog that attacked her. She climbed trees and ran across wall and roofs like a squirrel. She ate raw fish, loved to adorn herself with leaves and flowers, and adapted herself only with great difficulty to simpler social customs. Her speech was limited to cries, although she later learned a little French. She never gave up the use of certain sounds, which had no meanings to others.

Low Mentality Isolation. Illiteracy and low mentality isolate. Lack of education is a bar to breadth of viewpoint, to contacts with the classics, to accurate thinking. The untrained person cannot appreciate the attitudes of

¹ H. Small, "On Some Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude," *Pedagogical Seminary*, VII, pp. 32-35.

² See August Rauher, *Homo Sapiens Ferus* (Leipzig, 1885), for an account of the "Irish boy," and other similar cases.

the trained mind. Persons without the advantages of education, culture, and travel are set off from cosmopolites.

The feeble-minded are unable to respond to many human stimuli. All the low mentality individuals live in circumscribed ways, isolated from others. Complicated social stimuli cannot be grasped by them, and they do not respond—hence they are called stupid.

Spatial Isolation. Persons who have lived in isolated parts of the world are “lost” in big cities. They find themselves bombarded by baffling stimuli. A person who has lived his whole life on the Fiji Islands, in Timbuctu, or in Mongolia, except as missionaries or traders have come to him, is puzzled when plied with the stimuli of Western civilization.

Pioneering creates isolation attitudes. The pioneer grows isolated from his parent-group, whom he once left; and remains isolated from many of the strangers whom he is supplanting. He moves out of one world of stimulation, but is not always taken completely into another. Frontier people are generally hospitable, for absence of social stimuli has left them socially hungry.

Imposed and prolonged isolation may cause people to go frantic. The total absence of social stimuli is overwhelming. Note the following summary:

The solitude of nature's fastnesses at the Poles, the solitude of the mountain tops, or of being alone in a little boat on the ocean, or walking over a vast prairie, or moor at nightfall, these are always terrifying experiences to men, even the bravest of them, and to women more so and children most of all. Shepherds go mad shut in on solitary heights. And yet there is no solitude worse than the indifference of a great city thronged with people.³

On the other hand self-imposed and temporary isolation may be beneficial. Solitude is essential to reflection. People who live in large cities are subject to such a multiplicity of stimuli that they must needs get away from time to time to the mountain, or plain, or shore. Most persons should alternate between solitude and social stimulation. Too many stimuli are confusing and tiring. A person grows weary of anything no matter how good. To be with others continuously produces ennui. He who spends all his time in a round of social engagements becomes stupid. Interstimulation calls for intervals of detachment for purposes of reflection.

Handicap Isolation. The individual born deaf and dumb is cut off from many normal stimuli. He develops a special language whereby he maintains contacts with others who are deaf and dumb. Individuals born

³ J. L. Taylor, *Social Life and the Crowd* (Small, Maynard, n. d.), p. 135.

deaf but not dumb often do not learn to speak because they are unable to respond to the regular means of social stimulation. Even Helen Keller despite her marvelous achievements is cut off from whole realms of interstimulation.

Prison Isolation. A prisoner locked in his cell or shut off by the rule of silence is deprived of the privileges of interstimulation. Being thrown out of society or locked away from normal contacts his mental distortion may increase. Under solitary confinement or when cut off from all social stimuli, his personality may go to pieces. Thomas Mott Osborne substituted sociability for isolation and produced noteworthy results in reclaiming convicts.

The released prisoner often bears marks or stigma which prevent him from returning to normal life. Says Clarence Darrow, a criminal lawyer: "The criminal has always been met by coldness and hatred that have made him lose his finer feelings, have blunted his sensibilities, and have taught him to regard all others as his enemies and not his friends."⁴

Age Isolation. Many persons as they grow old miss the stimulation of normal activity and of friends. A mother left at home alone because her sons and daughters have married and established homes of their own, may be found carrying on long conversations with herself. G. Stanley Hall presented another phase of this situation when he wrote: "As I advance in years there are few things I crave more and more and feel more keenly the lack of than companionship. The almost inevitable isolation of old age is hard to bear, and I think I now have no greater enjoyment than in occasional visitations by friends."⁵

Hyper-nationalism builds up chauvinistic attitudes and a haughty and exclusive behavior, which creates a wide stretch of no-man's land over which communication is deadened. A high and narrow patriotism creates a dangerous and needless exclusiveness. Since the members of a national group do not make contacts with other national groups under normal conditions they accept gossip and rumors in lieu of direct experiences and actual situations. National prejudices prevent normal international stimulation. National heritages likewise create peculiar sets of social stimuli that are not mutually appreciated. A loyal American missionary in India, upon returning to the United States on furlough, says: "The American ways were new and unnatural. Our children cried to go back to India. They were lonely because they had nothing in common with those about them. They felt that they were unwanted here. All the things they had learned

⁴ *Crime* (Crowell, 1922), p. 155.

⁵ *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (Appleton, 1923), p. 589.

to love through long acquaintance and association were many miles away." ⁶

Secret Society Isolation. No person joins a secret society without feeling himself cut off from his friends who are not admitted. Moreover, the friends who are left on the outside feel that he has entered a world apart and has secrets which cannot be told them. He on the other hand may feel superior to them because of his select social contacts. Secrecy magnifies social barriers a thousand-fold, increases interstimulation within the charmed circle but slows it up in outside connections.

Conflict Isolation. Conflicts of all kinds block stimulation. The strike "cuts off the employer-workman relation, while the boycott suspends the contact of buyer and seller." ⁷ Family feuds are deadly. Tong wars limit interstimulation to savage thrusts. Personality clashes divide friends and families and tear up the lines of normal communication. ⁸

Racial Isolation. Consciousness of race differences damps constructive interracial stimulation. The greater the visible differences, the fewer the friendly contacts. For self-protection each race builds its tradition of greatness and sometimes its delusion of grandeur. By dwelling at length on its own merits and achievements and by magnifying the faults of other races, helpful interstimulation is blocked.

Although immigrants to the United States crave the stimuli to be found in American homes, they are rarely invited. They are segregated in localities and hindered in moving into American neighborhoods.

Most serious of all, they are looked at askance. Nothing hampers stimulation more than chilling glances.

The second generation in the United States is doubly handicapped. They have veered away from parental and native stimuli but are only partially accepted in some American circles and not at all in others. They suffer greatly from these double handicaps in interstimulation.

Americanization often isolates immigrant parents from their children, for the latter become versed in American culture traits sooner than do their parents. The latter adopt a new culture while the former maintain the old. They speak in different terms, and react in different ways to the same stimulus. Says a parent:

My children have grown up. They are educated, and the education given them by America has taken them from me. I speak English only as an untaught alien can speak it. But my children know all the slang phrases and

⁶ From letter by H. S.

⁷ C. M. Case, *Non-Violent Coercion* (Century, 1923), p. 401.

⁸ E. S. Bogardus, "The Personality Clash and Social Distance," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, XI: 165-74.

they can even speak English with Negro, Irish, and Dutch dialects. They speak differently, they act differently, and when they come to visit me they come alone. They do not explain why they do not bring their friends, but I instinctively sense the reason. They should not fear. I would not cause them any embarrassment. But they too look upon their old father as an inferior, an alien, a roundhead, a bohunk.⁹

The way in which culture differences play havoc with social stimulation is illustrated over and over when an immigrant lands on foreign shores. His first days in a strange land are filled with the pangs of isolation. A Swedish immigrant girl in broken English tells the story more effectively than could a poet in classic rhyme:

I come from Sweden when I was eighteen years old. . . . We wrote me ant a mont' ago, I was comin, but when I got to Chicago, she wasn't at de train. Whew! Maybe I wasn't scared! I walked round and round, den I sit down an' cried like a big boob. I t'ought I die. Den along come a woman an' put her hand on me shoulder, and ast me in Swedish what de matter was. . . . I told her about me ant, an' she say I go wid her. She take me dere. I had de address all right, but me ant was gon'—moved. Den I cry more, an' a whole lots of people come out. Dey say me ant gone way out nort', too far to go that night. One woman say I stay wid her if I sleep on floor. She say she fix bed for me. Dey was so kind, but I cry all night. I t'ink of ole country so far away.¹⁰

Religious Isolation. Religious divisions prevent intersocial stimulation. Mohammedans and Christians are isolated from each other. The historical and current cleavages between Catholics and Protestants are many. Fundamental and modern Protestants keep apart. People of different faiths do not feel entirely at home in each other's company. Note the following experience of a Protestant attending for the first time a Catholic service.

The service began and the congregation knelt at intervals apparently in unison. I remained quietly seated and did not feel uncomfortably conspicuous until I carelessly leaned against the fingers of the lady behind me. It was then that I decided to do as the others. I kept my head bowed and watched the movements of the congregation as well as I could, but stood or knelt just one lap behind the others. Once when they rose from a kneeling to a sitting position I stood bolt upright in my haste to do as the others. During the remainder of the service I sat miserably conscious that those around me knew that a stranger was present.¹¹

While the foregoing illustration relates to certain formal aspects of religious practices, the situation is even more pronounced when the ignorance of religious meanings is considered. Even within a given religious group it is isolating for a person to change his religious views. A young minister reports:

⁹ *The Interpreter*, II: 8.

¹⁰ Cited by Annie M. MacLean, *Our Neighbors* (Macmillan, 1923), pp. 18-19.

¹¹ From ms. by B. S.

I once subscribed to a certain theological dogma and took certain vows with all earnestness but with little thought of my future mental development. I then took a course of study which broadened my views considerably. I could not consider myself an honest man if I proclaimed doctrines I no longer believed, so I closed my eyes to consequences and proclaimed from the pulpit my new views. The results were immediate; at first, I was "waited on by the brethren"; then I was the topic of conversation where elderly ladies sipped tea. I was anathematized by the more devout of the congregation until I resigned my pulpit for the good and harmony of the church, and moved to another city, but continued membership in the denomination. My reputation followed me. People whom I had counted on as friends "passed by on the other side." I was looked upon as a criminal. I felt as if I looked like one. I felt guilty, although I knew I was guilty only of *thinking*. I was a stranger among old friends, and lonesomeness settled over me. I was not only isolated by their actions but gradually came to the point where I shunned them. Finally a complete break was made and I made a new ecclesiastical connection.¹²

Occupational Isolation. Occupations isolate. The minister or priest is supposed to be better or different; he thinks in theological terms. He cannot do exactly as his parishioners do, for they would lose respect for him as their religious leader. The motorman works in a vacuum: "Don't speak to the motorman." The trapper like the traffist works "vowed to perpetual silence." Each occupation builds for its members a wall out of its special ethics, viewpoints, and terminology.

Cornelia Stratton Parker's experiences in "working with the working women" illustrate occupational isolation. In going to work in a factory, she began preparations by purchasing "large green earrings, a bar pin of platinum and brilliants, a goldy box of powder (two shades), a lipstick." She faded a green tam-o'-shanter so that it would not look new, dug an old blue serge dress from the rag bag, wore spats that "just missed being mates as to shade, and a button off one." Then, she chewed gum hard and kept at it, but found that while earrings and gum helped, her use of English disclosed her identity. She could not rid herself of her English and say regarding a friend, "She ain't livin' at that address no more."¹³

Occupations are graded and people in the so-called lower levels of occupations are shut off from the levels above them. Within occupations there are barriers. A factory has its board of directors, president, superintendents, clerks, skilled workmen, the unskilled; these gradations hinder free interstimulation. A stenographer illustrates the problems of the occupational newcomer who never makes a complete adjustment:

I approached the huge office building with awe and a feeling of fear. There were many women and an equal number of men at work in the long

¹² From ms. by N. A.

¹³ *Working with the Working Woman* (Harper, 1922), Ch. 7.

room into which the manager directed me. It seemed that all eyes were upon me as I entered that room. I did not know where to lay my wraps, or where to go next. After I had been introduced to my new 'boss,' I had some difficulty in getting the right kind of typewriter. After I did get started to work, I could feel the curious glances of the office force upon me. I never came to feel entirely at home in this group, because of their ways to which I could not get adjusted.¹⁴

Economic and Social Isolation. Economic and social barriers deaden interstimulation. Great wealth throws around a person a retinue of servants, iron fences, and conventions which cut him off from normal contacts with the masses. He fails to appreciate the problems of the vast majority.

Arbitrary social barriers based on birth are factors that limit democratic contacts. Dividing lines must not be overstepped. Isolation is cultivated. "Unclean, unclean," is cried in scornful glance if not in word, when "social inferiors" approach.

A confirmed pauper living on a poor farm and even a day laborer living with a large family in a "shack" are untouchables. The poor cannot travel much, are not admitted to the best homes on an equal footing, are not welcomed in the fashionable churches, and are denied many social contacts and stimuli.

Social isolation may be brought about by personal change. A college alumnus returns to his alma mater and finds the same scenes, the familiar walks, the collegiate atmosphere, but suffers a distinct shock to discover "new faces set in old frames"; all the former students and nearly all the "beloved" instructors are gone; he feels lonely and isolated. A high school graduate who goes to a college in a distant city likewise misses the old-time stimuli: "The students were so reserved; they had such a cold exterior. So for many, many weeks, I wandered around that dreary city of gray, clouded skies, hoping that some terrible event might befall me or someone I knew at home might show up, that I might be called back to my friends."¹⁵

Cultural Isolation. Differences in culture traits are chasms across which social stimuli leap with difficulty. Every human group with unique culture traits is isolated. Groups develop social heritages and sets of mores which are isolating. Culture heritages inculcated by deed and word, look and oath, create different standards of behaviors and even different temperaments.

A reactionary Republican "boss" and a Communist develop culture

¹⁴ From ms. by M. A.

¹⁵ From ms. by R. M.

traits so different that neither understands the other; in fact neither will long listen if at all to the other. A militant Mohammedan and a peace-at-any-price Christian, a fundamentalist and a modernist, a dictator and a Jane Addams, a hulking backwoodsman and a dapper urbanite—each pair bespeaks isolation.

Different levels of culture traits are often represented by parents and children. Parents may become isolated from their children, because a gulf forms in the personal attitudes and culture traits. The dramatist and novelist have made classic this isolation in such works as Sowerby's *Rutherford and Son*¹⁶ and in Turgenieff's *Fathers and Sons*.¹⁷ These give descriptions of the tragic gaps between the conservative traits of parents and the liberal tendencies of children. Difference in basic culture ideas between the reactionary and the radical in religion, politics, or industry are almost impossible to overcome—even by discussion and reasoning.

Cultural and institutional isolation is accumulative. The members of any culture group, race, nation, clique are not only isolated but foster a system which promotes isolation. We who would love our neighbors as ourselves maintain "systems of social control that actually prevent us from doing it," declares a distinguished leader of religious and social thought.¹⁸ These culture systems whether national, religious, or industrial often generate blind prejudice, put appeals to the feelings at a premium, and spread exaggerated impressions of the merits of their own groups—thus promoting isolation.

Cultural isolation often comes about as a result of social mobility. A young man reports that after he had been away from his home community for some time he came back and attended a social gathering only to find himself isolated from those who had remained at home:

I found that I knew all the boys and most of the girls, but I did not have anything in common in a social sense with any of them. They had been going to parties together, could talk dances, and scandals of the younger set. My old-time friend had outgrown her former ways and I could not talk much with her. I moved around a little trying to think of something to do or say. I felt as though I spoke a foreign language which none could understand; I was out of place and would have given the world to have been able to leave.

The boys who knew me occasionally looked at me and remarked something to their partners. I felt sometimes as though I were a shadow, so little did I have in common with the others. Again I felt myself a strange animal

¹⁶ Sedgwick and Jackson (London, n. d.).

¹⁷ Transl. by C. J. Hogarth (Dutton, 1922).

¹⁸ George A. Coe, *A Social Theory of Religious Education* (Scribner's 1917), p. 68.

and at times it seemed as though my face would break under the strain of looking pleasant.¹⁹

Achievement-isolation. Any person when he becomes a leader suffers a loss of social contact. If he is raised up above his fellows, vertical distance develops. An eminent judge recently reported that when he accepted a position on the bench he found it necessary to give up his intimate friendship with many attorneys in order not to be accused of partiality when these attorneys were representing clients in his court. This isolated situation became unbearable and he finally compromised by keeping three or four of his close friends among the attorneys and by refusing to permit them to try cases before him. Christ's greatest agony was that "no one really understood the vastness of his thoughts and feelings . . . his spiritual loneliness was his extreme trial."²⁰

In another way achievement isolates, for a person who is devoted to his work must give undivided attention for days or even weeks at a time to the technical problems before him in order that he may achieve. The congressman at the Capitol partly loses "touch" with his constituents, while back home his rival is busy making friends. The former therefore must hurry "home" before an election in order to "mend his fences," in other words, to re-establish contacts.

Achievement also isolates in that it tends to give many successful persons a sense of exaltation and a certain aloofness. Aristocratic attitudes beget isolation. High peaks of eminence are easily left alone. Achievement necessarily carries a person above the multitude. To remain on a level with the multitude is to forego exceptional achievement.

THE INTERSTIMULATION PATTERN

Intersocial stimulation assumes form under five-fold interlocking patterns: (1) Inherited tendencies, (2) environmental factors, (3) spatial relationships, (4) cultural relationships, and (5) daily experiences.

1. *Inherited Tendencies.* At birth the human being is puny, helpless, and unresponsive, but under good care he begins to respond to more stimuli and to more complicated situations, developing reservoirs of power. The child which at first can do nothing but cry, possesses inherited tendencies which enable him to respond to the finest or the worst stimuli in the world.

¹⁹ From ms. by S. T.

²⁰ Robertson quoted by J. L. Taylor, *Social Life and the Crowd* (Small, 1923), p. 135.

In two ways social stimulation depends on inherited human tendencies. Human nature is both responsive and stimulative. Without inherited human tendencies there could be neither stimulus nor response as they are known in the human world.

The child's helplessness and his cries for aid are all-powerful stimuli to his mother, other mothers, other persons. As growth occurs the human cry becomes differentiated; the child becomes more interesting and appealing. Ultimately, he becomes a generating center of social stimuli. The energetic child becomes a social leader and the thinking child a mental leader. By making original suggestions, the human individual stimulates his associates to mischief or to mercy, to deeds of ill will or good will.

2. *Environmental Factors.* The intersocial stimulation pattern is subtly and powerfully effected by the physical environment of human beings. In the desert, the Polar region, the mountain fastness social stimuli are relatively few. In a fertile river valley of the Temperate Zone social stimuli seem to have their best chances. The physical resources effect occupational activities and stimuli. Where oil, coal, or gold ore abound the extraction of them from the earth colors language activities, social stimuli. Where sea coast engage human attention special forms of seafaring life prevail.

3. *Spatial Relationships.* By migration a person may deliberately escape from an area of sparse stimuli into one of pulsating stimuli. The migration of peoples has had a great effect in changing the nature of their stimuli. Mobility of person involves a change of stimuli rarely considered until the effects have become crystallized.

Where population is sparse, social stimuli are few and irregular; where population is piled up, stimuli are cyclonic and almost continuous. A population jammed together in limited space produces varieties of drab and colorful but ever-changing stimuli. Every large city has its "slums," its Bohemian quarter, its pawnshop and midnight mission, its go-getters, its big business, its Gold Coast. Most people move in and out of several social whirlpools daily.

4. *Culture Relationships.* The play of stimuli in the home, school, church depends on the prevailing culture traits. The particular language which a person speaks, his earliest principles of ethics, the religious views of his childhood, his earliest political reactions are responses to stimuli originating in culture traits. An individual has no choice with reference to his culture heritage, and yet the resultant stimuli are fateful. Whole groups of powerful stimuli are determined for him. Culture values and stimuli are centuries old at his birth. The traditions of his race and family

get in their work in his earliest, uncritical years. The driving potency of culture heritage is made vivid by Graham Wallas:

If the earth were struck by one of Mr. Wells' comets and if, in consequence, every human being now alive were to lose all the knowledge and habits which he had acquired from preceding generations (though retaining unchanged all his own powers of invention and memory and habituation) nine-tenths of the inhabitants of London or New York would be dead in six months. They would have no language to express their thoughts and no thoughts but vague reverie. They could not read notices, or drive motors or horses. They would wander about led by the inarticulate cries of a few naturally dominant individuals, drowning themselves, as thirst came on, in hundreds at the riverside landing places, looting those shops where the smell of decaying food attracted them, and perhaps at the end stumbling on the expedient of cannibalism.²¹

The rôle of culture heritage in furnishing master stimuli is well illustrated in the history of religion. Among primitive peoples an infant is born into an animal-worship atmosphere. In a Homeric age, the child is taught to worship fitful gods. Still later, God is set up as being a super-king, an autocratic monarch of earth and heaven. Then came beliefs in an all-loving Father which served as the stimuli for a socialized religion.

Scholars in any field derive their ruling stimuli from culture heritages. The point is well made by Lester F. Ward: "That my own contribution was simply a product of the *Zeitgeist* I have never pretended to question."²² Edison's inventions were built on centuries of inventions. From the culture level at any time come the problems and stimuli which lead to new inventions and discoveries.

5. *Daily Experiences.* The patterns of intersocial stimulation are changed according to the daily experiences and crises of life. The most powerful stimuli come in a person's direct experiences. They emanate from close friends, opponents, and center in crises involving great losses and suffering, great gain and joys, great obstacles and successes.

For the earliest years the chief stimuli originate within the family, play, and other primary groups. A child's play companions and his peers, often furnish him stronger stimuli than do his parents. Many of a child's stimuli are determined for him by his parents in deciding to live in this or in that neighborhood. Parents rarely realize the rôle they play in developing their children when they select or have selected for them by circumstances, a neighborhood in which to live.

²¹ Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage* (Yale Univ. Press, 1921), p. 16.

²² *Dynamic Sociology* (Appleton, 1915), p. VII.

As the individual grows older, opportunities to choose stimulating associates tend to multiply. In this re-valuing of associates lies perhaps more secrets of personality growth than in any other phase of social interstimulation. As one after another of the propinquity playmates drifts away, the individual's responsibility for the types of social stimuli to which he daily responds increases.

Maturity brings many changes in the personnel of one's circle and the social stimuli to which a person is subject undergo like changes. Maturity brings responses to varied occupational stimuli. The merchant needs customers and responds to their whims. The college president seeks endowment and caters to the wealthy. Many a young lawyer tries to win cases for guilty clients. Many an office-seeker attempts to please everybody. Every person is being changed through his responses to new daily experiences.

It is in crises that social stimuli function most vigorously. Catastrophes and bereavements create shocking stimuli. Wealth may find itself bankrupt; poverty may discover itself heir to a fortune; a flood, tornado, or earthquake may reduce a population to a common despair. Warfare shocks the soldier with one crisis after another.

Inventions, discoveries, journeys, create milder crises. An invention revolutionizes manner of work and living. A discovery opens up new worlds of activity. A journey unfolds new situations and brings strangers together in a never-ending chain of stimulating relationships. In short, a crisis²³ upsets behavior patterns, and makes new ones necessary.

Daily we learn; daily we teach. Most daily contacts are full of indirect learning and teaching experiences. Teaching is not simply a "filling up" of students; it is stimulating pupils to think for themselves. Even in the elementary grades the teacher's function is not to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, but to stimulate the pupil to think about people, their cultures, and their problems.

The daily clash of thoughts may represent interstimulation at its best. The college instructor often meets with the traditional notion that he is to lecture and the pupils to memorize, but according to this scheme students are helpless in learning to think for themselves. They become automatons, and lost when authorities disagree: "Professor X in an education course made statements which were directly opposite to those made on the subject by Professor Y in a psychology class. Now which

²³ See W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1909), p. 18.

am I to believe? I'm all muddled. I came to college to learn the truth, and now I don't know what I know."²⁴

W. H. R. Rivers cites two examples of the clashing of ideas and of the failure of cut-and-dried minds to appreciate the interstimulation involved. One example is that of a distinguished university teacher whom Dr. Rivers heard objecting to Wells' *Outline of History*, "because he gave footnotes which disagreed with the text." "How disturbing," he said, "it must be to the student's mind." The other case is almost as pathetic:

Not long ago at a meeting of the Psychological Society my friend Dr. Myers read a paper, one part of which I criticised. There was present a well-known medical teacher, so distinguished that he had been knighted, who got up and said that he had come to the meeting expecting to be instructed by two such eminent authorities as Myers and myself, and that he had been horrified at finding that instead of being told by us what was the truth, he had found us disagreeing with one another.²⁵

GROUP STIMULATION

Groups are subject to all the interplay of stimuli that persons are. Groups antagonize and aggravate one another; they react favorably to and build one another up. Business houses stimulate each other to salesmanship feats. Rival cities prod each other along. Inter-regional contests arouse a nation. Nations electrify one another by diplomatic moves. The interstimulation pattern is a changing *Gestalt* on which is painted a moving panorama, colored by inherited tendencies, physical forces, spatial and cultural relationships, daily experiences.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Stimulation makes heredity effective.
2. Isolation is the negation of stimulation.
3. Isolation exists between animal groups, between animal and human groups, and between such human groups as races, nations, classes, religions.
4. Isolation is produced by differences in heredity, cultural backgrounds, artificial social barriers, illiteracy, prejudices, occupations, achievements.
5. Self-imposed temporary isolation is necessary for reflection.
6. Isolation is cumulative.
7. Stimulation is the chief result of social contacts.
8. Stimulation is the basis of personality growth and societal development.
9. Interstimulating organisms constitute social situations.
10. Interstimulation patterns are determined by (1) heredity, (2) physical environment, (3) spatial relationships, (4) cultural relationships, (5) and daily experiences.

²⁴ Reported by a student to the writer.

²⁵ *Psychology and Politics* (Harcourt, Brace, 1923), p. 105.

11. Stimulation is most fruitful in crises.
12. A person may move from one world of stimuli to another, and thus change the trend of his daily responses to life.
13. Groups, like persons, are highly interstimulative.

PROBLEMS

1. What is stimulation?
2. What is isolation?
3. Why are animal groups more isolated from each other than are human groups?
4. How does patriotism beget isolation?
5. How does religion create isolation?
6. Explain the doubly isolating effects of prejudice.
7. In what fundamental way is the "stranger" isolated?
8. Who is the more socially isolated—a sympathetic person or an intellectual person?
9. How is it that loneliness may be greater in the city than in the country?
10. Explain: "Whoever delights in solitude is either a wild beast or a god."
11. In what ways does the isolation of the hermit differ from that of the prophet?
12. In what ways is the only child isolated?
13. Why are personal associates most effective in furnishing stimuli?
14. How may a person best change his ruling social stimuli?
15. Which furnish the most stimuli, friends or opponents?
16. From whom have you received the most helpful stimuli?
17. In what ways does punishment act as a helpful stimulant?
18. Why are rewards sometimes harmful stimuli?
19. In what way may a person best determine the classes of stimuli to which he will be subject to-morrow?

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CHAPTER XVII

COMMUNICATION

COMMUNICATION is the basic process of stimulation and response. As soon as one individual responds to the stimulus of another individual and has a meaning for the process, communication is taking place. Stimulus and response occur in the physical world, but an exchange of meanings is not evident. The leaves of a plant respond to the rays of the sun, but the leaves cannot be said to attach meaning to these rays. A human being responds to the sight of a long unseen friend, and the process is full of meaning. The essence then of communication is found most of all in meanings.¹

Without communication the organic forms of life could not stimulate each other. The world of human beings would remain much like a forest, with individual forms but without mental activity. Change would not occur except by the operation of purely physical forces. There would be little if any mental or social growth; organizations could not develop; isolation would reign.²

Communication develops apace with civilization. Primitive life with its absence of telephones, newspapers, written alphabets develops no large-scale social organizations, no nationalisms, no world religions. Animal life with its communicative symbols limited to only a few simple vocal and pantomimic gestures does not seem to maintain any connections with the past save through inherited mechanisms. It prepares for the future only via the same standardized technique. The means of communication of amoebae or paramecia seem to be restricted to tropistic or reflex actions so simple that advancements are not generated. Even the social organization of a bee hive or of an ant hill appears to be biologically inherited, with no changes taking place in its structure unless physical factors first change.³ The recent startling inventions in communication and their general adoption is dynamic with change and progress or retrogression. It was the

¹ It is in these meanings that communication demonstrates its tie-in with attitudes.

² No finer contribution to the subject of communication in its main aspects can be found than in C. H. Cooley's *Social Organization*, Part II (Scribner's, 1909). The best analysis of the heart of the language process is given by G. H. Mead "Social Consciousness and the Consciousness of Meaning." *Psychological Bull.*, VII: 397-405.

³ Cf. W. M. Wheeler, *Social Life Among the Insects* (Harcourt, Brace, 1923).

mother of Michael Pupin who did not want her son to stand still for lack of opportunity to communicate with the giants of civilization and hence she sent her son forth in quest of superior vehicles of touch with human life and its discoveries.⁴

PREREQUISITES OF COMMUNICATION

The first prerequisite is *inherited mechanisms* of sense organs, afferent nerves, cortical brain centers, efferent nerves, muscular apparatus. There must be the possibility of recognizing gestures and other stimuli, of catching meanings; in short there must be neural stuff that can recognize and respond.

Communication is based on appropriate responses. Sticks and stones not at all; lower animals in a very slight way; higher animals in a rudimentary fashion; and normal human beings noteworthy—are capable of responding to stimuli meaningfully. Communication as a process depends upon an original nature able to react more and more elaborately to social stimuli.

The deaf and dumb can communicate, but the absence of a hearing apparatus is a tremendous loss. The rôle of a hearing mechanism is made clear by a wife and mother as follows:

But worst of all, my deafness seems to separate me from my boys. They do not confide in me as they do in their father. I can understand that boys do not like to shout or write out a secret. The little savages are always too busy and in a hurry. I seem to be so excluded. . . . The boys and their father are pals; I never know what they are planning or talking about and they don't take the trouble to inform me.⁵

My deafness separates me from my husband. Socially he is not proud of me. I know he would like a livelier companion. About all I can do is appear dumb, smile and say a few conventional things. I always make a blunder when I try to converse. People get so bored when they try to explain something to a deaf woman.⁶

In the next place, a *similar configuration of behavior mechanisms* is basic to communication. The dying cry of the chicken in the cat's jaw produces no response from the near-by mother-Newfoundland; a babe's cry of hunger makes no appeal to the nesting swallow under the eaves. The human mother who responds without thinking to a crying child possesses a behavior configuration similar to the child. Her quick protection of a wounded animal discloses a widely inclusive configuration

⁴ Pupin, Michael, *From Immigrant to Inventor* (Scribner's, 1923), pp. 10ff.

⁵ From ms. by U. N.

⁶ From ms. furnished by G. G. C.

nature. The distracted motions of the bird with the broken wing have meanings to her, because of her native sympathy. The fact, however, that she does not respond similarly to the cries of entrapped rodents means that she has built up secondary behavior patterns that block the primary ones.

Communication denotes the presence of common factors in behavior patterns. Communication implies a certain common nature to start with; it also makes possible a tremendous expansion and enrichment of this common life. A very simple set of communicative machinery has led to limitless developments of personalities and of civilization.

Out of communication comes a recognition of both likemindedness and of unlikemindedness. In either case an underlying social awareness is generated. Communication enables persons to generate a far-reaching social idealism or to hatch a mutually destructive war. It sets up signs leading to increasing trustworthiness, helpfulness, and love or to shrewdness, chicanery, hatred, destructive competition. It opens the possibility of heaven or hell. Without it, life becomes drab and dull; with it, the flood-gates of human enterprise are opened.

Another basic condition for the rise of communication are *common needs*. In meeting common needs human beings tend to develop like responses to like stimuli. The results include uniformities of patterns of action. Similarities of function and structure make communication possible.

It has been said that a terrible catastrophe makes the whole world kin—at least for a time. The resultant thinking and feeling together increases and lays the foundations for communication. The development of commercial aviation and radio greatly stimulates the demand for a common world language.

THE PROCESS OF COMMUNICATION

Communication as a process may best be studied among higher animals and young children. Communication among birds, for example, involves the utterance of cries and calls, of answering sounds which imply some semblance of appropriate meanings. On sight of a hawk, the mother bird utters a shrill cry whereupon the scattered young respond by promptly running to cover and survive, and hence certain so-called meaningful warnings have survival value. The process has a sequence, namely: a cry, and appropriate response, and an effective meaning.

The strutting of the peacock illustrates non-vocal communication. A

variety of pantomimic gestures is used by the male in his courtship antics. A mocking bird in dropping down and pecking the head of the offending cat carrying a stolen nestling, sends the cat to cover, and illustrates a meaningful process. The ruffled fur of the house-cat when she meets a blustering pup makes vivid the communication process.

The cry of the babe, a survival cry, is followed by a quick protective response on the part of the mother. Soothing tones follow, whereupon the crying ceases—and the communication process has completed a cycle. Babes whose danger cries are not regarded, succumb; thus, infantile cries and maternal responses are results of human needs and create vital social situations.

The human babe cries, but in different ways, and sets off the communication process in as many different directions. To one unacquainted with children, the different cries sound alike, but to the mother, they are the beginnings of a complex language. There is the cry of hunger, the cry of pain, of fear, of anger, of fretfulness, of the acquired demand to be taken up and rocked. Each of the sets of cries develops ultimately into elaborate vocabularies—Chinese, Italian, Russian, English, and so on.

If cries such as the cry to be picked up and soothed are not followed by the vaguely desired result they die out. If a temper tantrum which is a striking form of communication, is unnoticed or if the child must go off by himself in a closed room and have his tantrum where there can be no response it soon ceases. In other words the cry and the recognition of its meaning are inseparable.

In the case of the mother and the babe, the latter's cries and gestures have much more meaning to the mother than to the babe, for the former has already a full set of meanings for varied cries. The mother's imagination has supplied what the babe has failed to make intelligible. The stimulus-response-meaning sequence of communication culminates, in other words, in learning. Communication is both a teaching and a learning process.

Teaching as communication is a process of translating unintelligible and higher ideas into intelligible and simpler symbols. Frequently the successful teacher, whether of philosophy, science, music, or cooking, is one who goes through a whole social situation in the presence of his pupils. As the latter learn, the teacher reduces the enacting process, reproducing only a few motions of gestures, and finally giving only "a cry, a look, and an attitude." The teacher of philosophy, for instance, speaks to his pupils in enigmas until perchance by a few deft chalk marks on the blackboard he releases a flood of light.

The importance of the primary group for teaching and learning has been well established.⁷ Its significance is found partly in the fact that in primary groups, such as the family, play, and other face-to-face groups, communication functions most freely and easily. In them there is a deep communality of experience; the slightest gesture has a meaning. The face-to-face group is the main theater of communication.

The communication process often finds expression in the elaborate art patterns of music, song, poetry. The stimulus may become symbolic. Through art symbols responded to according to unanalyzed personal experiences, communication may reach the heights of group ecstasy or be dignified into a great feeling too profound for utterance.

The gesture or symbol of communication is the beginning of a whole act.⁸ As soon as the second party recognizes the action for which the given gesture or symbol is the beginning, communication is operative. The response will consist of another gesture, which in turn is the beginning of another act—and communication by interchange of gestures and suitable responses takes place. Hence communication is a social process, consisting of an interchange of gestures and appropriate responses between persons possessing a common nature, common reflex mechanisms, common group backgrounds. Language has been defined by G. H. Mead as a conversation of attitudes and responses.

A special study has been made of the origins of symbols in the social experiences of young children by John F. Markey.⁹ The meanings of the symbols that a child develops are found in his responses to his environment. The origin of meaning is found in the "sequential or functionally dependent relationship existing between parts of behavior." Personality is "realized in symbolic integration." A group may manipulate personal symbols and make them agents of social control, as, for example, a group may call a sturdy boy "sissy" in order to keep him from worthwhile action of which the particular group may not approve. Speech reactions are to be judged in terms of a person's non-verbalized behavior and with reference "to the function they perform in social behavior," as in the case of social responses to questionnaires, which "are nothing but attempts to create a favorable impression."¹⁰

The symbols of language are associated with personal experiences

⁷ See C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (Scribner's, 1909).

⁸ G. H. Mead, "Social Consciousness and the Consciousness of Meanings," *Psychological Bul.*, VII: 397-405.

⁹ *The Symbolic Process* (Harcourt, Brace, 1928).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. XI.

before the latter have even "rudimentary linguistic significance."¹¹ It is in the relation of the elements of experience to the whole of a person's experience that the meanings of language are found.¹² "The symbols that ticket off experience" are associated with groups of experiences, not with a single, isolated experience.¹³ Language symbols give form to culture. They are garments sometimes quite visible or audible, contrary to Sapir's assertion "that drape themselves about our spirit and give a predetermined form to all its symbolic expressions."¹⁴

3. *The Symbols of Communication.* The carriers of the communication process are symbols or gestures. They are symbols of meanings; they are gestures laden with meanings. They range from simple signs to complex language and art forms. Many are silent, although the most elaborated and best-known are vocal, namely, spoken languages.

Pantomimic Gestures. Gestures of the hands and shoulders are common among the deaf. In fact, deaf and dumb alphabets and languages are marvelous adaptations of meanings to signs. Foreigners in a strange environment resort continually to the use of the hands in trying to make their wants known. The teacher of English to immigrants may begin with the "action" method and illustrate the meanings of many language forms by motions. In illustrating the verb, to run, the teacher may run, employing the whole body in action as a symbol. The ordinary person whenever at a loss for a word resorts to gesticulations in order to convey his meaning. In anger or hysteria the pantomimic gestures vigorously follow one another in dramatic fashion. The public speaker may use simply his forefinger meaningly or his clenched fist pugilistically, or he may be a pastmaster in pantomimicry, depicting past or absent scenes so vividly that people are spellbound.

The ordinary gestures of the hands and shoulders convey standardized meanings; they are practical, such as the open, extended, and friendly hand, or the defensive, clenched fist. They are conspicuously copied while a person's attention is glued on meanings; he unknowingly adopts the forms of language. The extent of their use in ordinary conversation is usually not suspected until a person tries to describe some exciting experience without moving hand or body. An entire people may develop characteristic gestures of the hands or shoulders.

Pantomimic gestures of civilized deaf and dumb people are related to

¹¹ Edward Sapir, *Language* (Harcourt, Brace, 1921), p. 9.

¹² See "Toward a Gestalt Sociology," by Clarence M. Case, *Sociology and Social Research*, XV: 3-27, Sept.-Oct., 1930.

¹³ Sapir, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

the gesture language of primitive people. The latter are often able to communicate in this way with the former. For example, it is reported that at the World's Fair in Chicago¹⁵ the Eskimos began to make gesture-signs and to carry on a simple conversation with a party of deaf and dumb Americans who came their way. The two groups possessed an elementary medium of communication. Likewise the gesture-signs of certain American Indians have universal significance.

A policeman's club is a symbol full of meaning. Not being able to speak an immigrant's language, a policeman may brandish his club. An Italian immigrant boy who has since become a distinguished American scholar once innocently felt the sting of such a club:

The next morning bright and early, leaving all my belongings with the barber, I started out in search of a job. I roamed about the streets, not knowing where or to whom to turn. That day and the next four days I had one loaf of bread each day for food and at night, not having money with which to purchase shelter, I stayed on the recreation pier on Commercial Street (Boston). One night, very weary and lonely, I lay upon a bench and soon dozed off into a light sleep. The next thing I knew I cried out in bitter pain and fright. A policeman had stolen up to me very quietly and with his club had dealt me a heavy blow upon the soles of my feet. He drove me away, and I think I cried; I cried my first American cry. What became of me that night I cannot say. And the next day and the next—I just roamed aimlessly about the streets. Those first five days in America have left an impression upon my mind which can never be erased with the years.¹⁶

Evan pantomimic gestures require suitable backgrounds of experience in order to function in communication. No pantomimic gesture by itself means anything to anyone. The simplest movement of the hand may be meaningless until connected with experience and culture patterns. Pantomimic gestures acquire meanings and then develop communicative values. An investigator of mountain social life reports:

Where one of West Virginia's creeks begins, a woman of our party made friends with a girl of 14, who, after the ice was broken, said simply, "I like you." And when this new found friend, "the stranger," went away, the little girl climbed up to a ledge of rock overlooking the trail, and the woman looking back till the trail turned in the forest, saw limned against the skyline the lone figure of a lonely figure in calico. The woman waved but received no response. The explanation of this omission perhaps, is to be found in another instance, when the visitor waved back to a little group of mother and children standing before the cabin door and overheard the question of the oldest of the girls, "Ma, wha'd she do that fer?"¹⁷

¹⁵ In 1893.

¹⁶ C. M. Panunzio, *The Soul of an Immigrant* (Macmillan, 1921), p. 74.

¹⁷ R. G. Fuller, *Rural Child Welfare* (Macmillan, 1922), p. 153.

Facial Gestures. Facial gestures center about the eyes and mouth. Like pantomimic gestures they are easily and universally intelligible, except where deception is practised. If you are perfectly frank and unreserved when you look at a friend, he can tell how you feel about him even though you do not speak his vocal language. The smile of welcome, the glance of hatred, the lowered brow, the sorrowing eye are understood the world around. Any person in a foreign land naturally gives careful attention to the facial gestures of the people whom he meets, whether he be a Greek immigrant in Tallahassee or an American in Angora. Although he may require several years to learn the vocal language of a country, he understands at once the main types of facial gestures and possesses a simple but common basis of communication.

Animals, children, primitive people, and even shrewd business men often communicate volumes to one another by the silent pantomimic and facial gestures. Patterns of bodily and facial action represent whole actions with accompanying meanings. The following statement by a college girl who did the unusual thing of looking at her bleacher associates instead of at the football team as it rushed upon the gridiron is revealing.

As our team raced on the field I was astounded at the various expressions on the faces surrounding me. Some gleamed with pride, almost, I might say, with reverence; a few faces held a look of grim determination, as though they had come to fight the battle themselves; some had a blasé expression of indifference; others a questioning gaze; others an expression of fear; while a few faces had absolute hatred depicted thereon.¹⁸

The description that follows of a fight between two native boys of Fakaofu discloses communication by the use of silent pantomimic and facial symbols:

The matter did not come to blows. They stood perfectly still some distance apart, looking at one another under lowering brows for several seconds. Then a quick threatening movement on one side would be responded to by a defiant one on the other; and then followed another spell of mutual inspection. These became longer and longer, and the threatening movement less and less energetic, until each went his own way and the whole (fight) was over. The whole affair was conducted in perfect silence.¹⁹

All acting on or off the stage discloses the power of pantomimic and facial gestures. The silent picture or silent drama with only a little help from printed words and no assistance from spoken words produced bursts of applause, cries of fear, and antagonistic hissing. The silent

¹⁸ From ms. by E. H.

¹⁹ J. J. Lester, "Notes on the Natives of Fakaofu," *Jour. of the Anthropological Institute*, XXI: 49.

picture has given a positive demonstration of silent communication with bodily and facial symbols carrying soul-stirring meanings.

Vocal Gestures. Vocal language arises out of the sudden exhalation of the breath in the exclamatory cry, the cry of fear, the cry of pain.²⁰ These exclamations in turn are naturally followed by adjustments. Sometimes the exclamation is protective, such as the warning call or cry of the mother bird. Out of shifting social situations exclamations develop into vocal languages. Out of these same social situations human vocabularies remain simple or take on cultural richness. The paucity or wealth of a person's vocabulary reflects the quality of his social experiences.

Vocal language moves on from exclamatory cries to the naming of objects and the creating of nouns. When the baby cries "ba ba," "pa pa," and "ma ma," he is, unaware to himself, naming himself, his father, and his mother. When the relationship between objects, or nouns, is recognized, a new part of speech comes into being, namely, the verb. A verb is after all a noun-name for the relationship between objects. Abstract meanings develop last. A five-year-old child who possesses a considerable vocabulary will persistently ask such questions as these: What is "honesty"? What does "honest to goodness" mean? What does "I doubt it" mean? What is "democracy"? In attempting to reply most adults are at a loss for simpler terms that appropriately explain.

As new social situations arise new language symbols are needed and generally created. Sometimes new scientific terminology is developed; sometimes a new idiom or slang phrase springs up. Language is always in process of creation, providing social situations are dynamic. Many new communicative symbols are created fortuitously. Hence many are illogical language monstrosities, such as ill-cultured "slanguage." American slang, shocking as it is at times, is often a short cut to social good feeling:

On the boat coming over I encountered the first American slang and was told that I should not copy that. I didn't have much chance until years later in Chicago when I heard my professor of Latin use slang so becomingly,—even if I did wonder what his "blooming car" looked like—blooming I had always connected with blossoms. After finishing my college course friends were surprised to hear me adopt slang—and now how many sentences can I say without slang? I like it to a certain degree—"slang" makes a person get along better with certain people to one's own advantage at times; it is catching and seems to spread a cheerful and light atmosphere. Of course, I have no use for vulgar slang.²¹

²⁰ See J. B. Watson, *Psychology* (Lippincott, 1919), for a detailed account of language formation; also F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (Houghton Mifflin, 1924), Ch. VIII.

²¹ From ms. by F. T.

Whistling Gestures. Whistling is one of the simpler forms of vocal communication. Young people communicate with one another, a boy calls his dog, and so forth, by simple whistles. It is often possible to tell something of a person's passing feelings by the tune that he is whistling or by the way he whistles that tune. Some primitive people have developed an extensive vocal language out of whistling. Not only general tunes and attitudes but specific messages are conveyed.

In the island of Gomera everybody except a few dignitaries can converse at a distance by whistling, and express anything that words can express. They have a special note for every syllable. Natives of the Cameroons sometimes whistle a message instead of drumming it. Frobenius found that his expedition to Togoland was announced in this way to the German official forty miles away. Other tribes in the north of Africa had the same practise, but the Arabs suppressed it.²²

Written Gestures. The symbols of communication long ago took written form. Unwritten communication is quickly perishable. Writing gives longevity. The earliest written symbols were pictographic. They illustrated objects. Then came ideographic symbols or pictured ideas. These were followed by phonographic symbols or sound graphs, or alphabets.²³

Art Gestures. Feelings secure expression through art symbols. Music, paintings, sculpture convey meanings. An Indian blanket tells the story of art symbols and their meanings. The following lines make vivid a feeling language of remarkable symbols and meanings and illustrate all the arts as symbols of meanings little suspected to the untrained eye or ear:

Out in the land of little rain;
Of cactus-rift and canyon plain,
An Indian woman, short and swart,
This blanket wove with patient art;
Before her loom, by patterns queer,
She stolidly a story told
A legend of her people, old.

With thread on thread and line on line,
She wrought each curious design,
The symbol of the day and night,
Of desert dark and mountain height,
Of journey long and storm beset,
Of village passed and dangers met,

²² Herman Klaatsch, *The Evolution and Progress of Mankind* (Stokes, 1923), p. 130.

²³ The story of alphabets is extremely fascinating. For a brief description see E. C. Clodd, *The Story of the Alphabet* (Appleton, 1915); or A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (Harcourt, Brace, 1923), Ch. XI.

Of wind and season, cold and heat,
Of famine harsh and plenty sweet.

Now in this pale-faced home it lies,
'Neath careless, unsuspecting eyes,
Which never read the tale that runs
A course of ancient mystic suns,
To us, 'tis simply many-hued,
Of figures barbarous and rude;
Appeals in vain its pictured lore;
An Indian blanket—nothing more.²⁴

Art is in a way the highest form of communication. It may convey feelings for which no words can be found. It speaks from heart to heart. Its lack of standardization gives its variety and mystery, and leads it into mysterious paths. On the other hand it uses uniform symbols according to time and place:

Here the geometrical elements of the design often become so pronounced that the recognition of the animal represented would be impossible if not for the symbol. When finally the symbol itself becomes conventionalized, as is the case with the Chilkat blankets and with some of the boxes, the interpretation of the design becomes impossible unless one happens to know that a design in the particular instance is meant to represent a certain animal or bird.²⁵

4. *The Reach of Communication.* The material instruments of communication, such as the railroad, the steamboat, the telegraph, the cable, the daily newspaper, the telephone, wireless, radio, television are multiplying apace, causing the whole world to shrink. These objective systems of communication have made opinion public, created larger and larger publics, and set the pulses of millions beating in daily unison. By means of communicative symbols a person may boldly set himself up as "a center of judgment of all that goes on in large worlds of many interests." The possibilities for communication are endless.

With the multiplication of communicative mechanisms, with the almost constant ringing of the telephone, with several square yards of newspaper for each person to read daily, with the radio constantly broadcasting into homes, offices, and on streets, people grow exhausted. Excess communication smothers reflection. The early life of the race moved with geologic slowness because of lack of communication. On the other hand, modern life vibrates with a swiftness that breeds superficiality and disintegration. Communication is developing faster than reflective analysis. As the pace increases, communication becomes superficial, except for the intellectually élite.

²⁴ Edwin L. Sabin in *The Navajós*, by Oscar H. Lipp.

²⁵ Alexander Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (Knopf, 1922), p. 67.

It is Walter Lippmann who points out the material basis of the reach of communication.

The size of a man's income has considerable effect on his access to the world beyond his neighborhood. With money he can overcome almost every tangible obstacle of communication, he can travel, buy books and periodicals, and bring within the range of his attention almost any known fact of the world. The income of the individual, and the income of the community, determine the amount of communication that is possible.²⁶

At its best, communication enlarges social vision, enabling persons to make "morning surveys" of the universe. What the future has in store cannot be safely predicted. With national rulers calling their subjects together in public places and addressing them with a single voice, and with Lindberghs addressing the peoples of the world simultaneously by short and long wave lengths, a new day is at hand. The rapid growth in communication presages the day when all the people of the world will speak a common tongue. They have already understood the same cry of fear, pain, sorrow; they have already responded to similar forms of martial music, symphonies, and other art expressions. They may some day be expected to use the same verbal language.

Communication overcomes isolation. The recent development of the radio, for instance, keeps the aged, the sick, the disabled in touch with life, brings to them the finest music in the world, stimulates their thinking with the ideas of world leaders brought to them in living tones.

The invention of numerical systems and mathematical formulae has given a communicative basis for considering the composition of glowing suns, for measuring parallaxes, for manipulating radium in infinitesimal quantities. Syllogisms of logic have carried communication into the remote domains of abstract metaphysical reasoning. Scientific terminology has expanded human communication from microscopic minutiae to telescopic reaches. Philosophy and religion and art by systems of communication and interstimulation weave far-flung systems of universal interpretation.

Communication holds the key to world organization in government, religion, art, and so on. It was this concept which Woodrow Wilson had in mind when he was addressing national leaders in Europe previous to the meetings of the Paris Conference. "If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, . . . I cannot be your friend, and if the world is to remain a body of friends it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse."²⁷

²⁶ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (Harcourt, Brace, 1922), p. 49.

²⁷ From President Wilson's address before the Chamber of Deputies in Rome, January 3, 1919.

While invention in communication has gone a long way since the pre-literate days, it is still far short of current need. Six hundred dialects or more break up the world into many divisions, isolated from each other. When an international labor conference is held to-day only a few delegates at a time can understand the others. Edward Filene of Boston made possible a remarkably advanced and yet almost pathetically backward system (in relation to the need for a universal tongue universally spoken), for a recent international labor conference:

How do people from so many countries with all their different languages manage to discuss together? There is, indeed, a difficulty. But it is being partly met by a mechanical device. Each delegate's desk is fitted up with a telephone that has two ear pieces and a small dial like that of a radio. All the speeches are made from a reading desk at the front of the platform and just below this desk sit a group of interpreters. They are of different nationalities and as fast as the speaker says a sentence each interpreter repeats it in his own language into a telephone and the delegates, by means of their dials can tune in on any of the languages they understand.²⁸

When Pope Pius XI on February 12, 1931, spoke for the first time over the radio to the whole world, there were many of his followers who were disappointed. Although thrilled by the occasion as such, they could not understand the message, for it was delivered in a "foreign" language. Latin in the church is one thing, but Latin over the radio is entirely different. As a radio message, the address by the Pope had already begun to grow cold when it was translated a half an hour later; moreover the translation came via the voice of a comparative stranger. The recognition of the need for a universal means of communication grows daily.

Communication makes conference possible. It enables strangers to understand one another. It is the only road to consensus of opinion and common action. Communication makes possible the practice of "Come, let us reason together." It opens the gates of amity and good will. It also spreads misinterpretation and hatred. Look at the international news stories circulated by vicious militaristic newspapers. Consider the venom of gossip and the sting of evil propaganda. Communication is a process of good, but it is used to destroy.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Communication is a primary process of interstimulation.
2. Communication is "a conversation of attitudes and appropriate responses."
3. Communication is the basis of common understanding.

²⁸ Alice M. Cheyney, "The I. L. O. at Work" *The Woman's Press*, XXV: 25, January, 1931.

4. Communication involves the use of symbols; it includes pantomimic, facial, and verbal gestures.
5. Communication, commonly expressed in talk, reaches its heights in art forms and achieves its greatest permanence in written language and in certain art forms such as sculpture.
6. Communication at its best magnifies social vision, provides carrier waves for social stimuli, makes socialization possible.
7. A common means of communication facilitates the growth of a world social order.

PROBLEMS

1. What is the social origin of language?
2. Why do people have a strong desire to communicate with each other?
3. What is the chief function of communication?
4. Name one word or phrase which you have added recently to your vocabulary and describe the circumstances under which you made the addition.
5. Why is there so much conversation about trivial matters?
6. What is the origin of slang?
7. What is the difference between *slang* and *idiom*?
8. What is the chief attribute of a successful conversationalist?
9. Is it correct to say that the best successful conversationalist is he who gets others to talk?
10. Why is it difficult for many people to talk at a formal reception?
11. What is a vocal gesture?
12. Why are facial gestures the same the world over?
13. Why is art a superior form of communication?
14. Why is a common means of communication related to world progress?
15. Explain: A word is a syncopated act.

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CHAPTER XVIII

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION brings diverse attitudes and beliefs into comparison. It leads to conflict and gives "a premium to intelligence"; it helps to satisfy the urges for response and recognition. Discussion is a weighing of ideas and a comparison of related ideas.

MENTAL DUELS

Discussion at its best is the highest form of conflict. It considers all sides of a question. It is dispassionate, impersonal, factual. It reduces prejudices to a minimum and exacts ascertainable truth.¹ Of course, discussion may degenerate into sarcastic wrangling and disputes.

Two ideas may in the words of Gabriel Tarde² engage in a mental duel. Two systems of thought may likewise be honored by long and recurring discussions. These dualistic discussions comprise outstanding sections of history, for example, duels between Christianity and non-Christian religions, between Protestant and Catholic Christianity, between oligarchy and democracy, between sailing vessels and steamships, between high tariff and tariff for revenue only, between *though* and *tho*.

The mental duel ends in one of two ways. (a) One idea meets another and annihilates it. Among the educated, the idea of a round earth has completely superseded the idea of a flat earth. The annihilation may take place slowly or suddenly. Sometimes discussion "hurries conflicts to a conclusion" by bringing out hidden data. Sometimes discussion is so bitter and vitriolic, as in a political campaign, that the public cannot tell "where the truth lies." The tractor has been slowly triumphing over the farm horse while the talking picture gained the advantage quickly over the silent picture.

(b) The mental duel may end in compromise. The elements on both sides may react to form a new combination. An idea is advanced which suggests its opposite. The conflict of the one with the other may

¹ For a splendid chapter on discussion see E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), Ch. XVIII.

² *The Laws of Imitation*, transl. by Parsons (Holt, 1903), pp. 154-188.

result in a new idea. Procedures likewise may develop. The languages of the Saxons and Angles came into contact with the language of the Celts, Latins, and Greeks, and the result was a new vehicle of speech. Words themselves are often combinations of inherently antagonistic root-terms. Democracy may be interpreted as a compromise in the duel between anarchism and communism. A business college is a compromise between actual business experience and a liberal arts education.

In both types of duels, the conflicts are between new inventions and old ones. If the differences are very great the results are likely to be catastrophic, but if duels occur between the lesser differences useful compromises may occur. Discussion means that differences are brought into contact. New adjustments, inventions, progress, are likely to ensue.

TALK AND GOSSIP

Talk is the most common form of discussion. Talking ranges from gossip to the refined dialectics of Socrates. Most talking is planned not at all, and yet talking has the possibilities of an art.

Of all forms of discussion talk is the most important, because the most informal and the most universal. "We may rail at 'mere talk' as much as we please, but the probability is that the affairs of nations and of men will be more and more regulated by talk."³ It has been estimated that at least one-half of all talk is wasted, and yet, on the other hand, it is contended by Godkin that "no one ever talks freely about anything without contributing something, let it be ever so little, to the unseen forces which carry the race on to its final destiny,"⁴ for one may counteract or modify some current belief or make a positive impression, setting in motion a train of progressive ideas.

Talk easily turns into *gossip*. Gossip is automatic. It cares little for the truth. It delights in any juicy bit of news, and thrives on the pathological and spectacular. It picks up a falsehood and throws it to the four winds as truth; or as a Japanese proverb goes: "If one dog barks a falsehood, ten thousand others spread it as truth."

Gossip destroys personal reputations. It is no respecter of personal sensitiveness, of mitigating circumstances, or of future welfare. It is ruthless; it is insinuating. A current of gossip surreptitiously started by the unscrupulous can defeat a worthy man for office. In fact it is the venom of gossip which discourages able men from seeking public office.

³ E. L. Godkin, *Problems of Modern Democracy* (Scribner's, 1896), p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

"The tongue," states another Japanese proverb, "is but three inches long, but it can kill a man six feet high."

Gossip has one redeeming feature, for according to Richard Le Gallienne, it means that its subject is interesting. To quote Le Gallienne: "Gossip neither means that you are very great nor very beautiful, nor even very bad; all that it means is that you are very—interesting."

Gossip is the talk that assumes the air of secrecy. It delights in being falsely "confidential." It flatters and then leads the flattered into traps. It surrounds itself with mystery and magical performances; it rules the thoughtless; it is the tool of tricksters.

Gossip is talk that is usually negative or destructive. It is inspired by jealousy, which hinders the spreading of good tidings about persons, especially about opponents but gives a thousand wings to false reports. "Yellow journals" "play up" anything that smacks of scandal; they escape responsibility by saying that "it is alleged." The public minimizes or overlooks the "alleged" and believes the allegations.

On the positive side, talk develops several of the attributes of a real art. In the first place, the best conversationalist has something to say besides words; he is not merely a big talker. He has more than a large vocabulary and a wide command of languages and literatures. While a mastery of linguistics is highly desirable, yet a person may be able "to speak in seven languages but to think in none." The best conversationalists usually have had rich personal experiences which they use not as topics of conversation but as bases for understanding and for drawing out the personalities of others. They understand the meanings of life's deepest experiences and thus are able to make any conversation vital.

Second, a good conversationalist knows at least a few phases of life thoroughly, but he does not talk "shop." At this point most persons are helpless. They know and can talk about only one thing—their daily work. Outside this field they have little to converse about—except the weather and juicy bits of gossip. The praiseworthy conversationalist has developed a number of avocational interests, so that his conversation has range and richness.

A third quality of the good conversationalist is that he understands human attitudes and connects his avocational data with the attitudes of other persons. His conversation enlightens others, not concerning himself, but regarding themselves. His conversation does not give an impression of a big "I," but of an important "You." He focuses attention on the interesting phases of other persons' experiences.

A fourth desideratum is that the good conversationalist is not a

monologist. He listens as well as talks. He stimulates others to talk. He gets others to tell about their unique and significant experiences and observations. Like Emerson, he learns from everyone whom he meets, and thus keeps his own fund of information up-to-date and vibrant.

In the fifth place, a good conversationalist is a director of conversation. He is a skilful questioner. He makes interesting remarks which secure mental releases in other persons. By indirect suggestion he opens the mouths of "clams." He elicits vivacity from the bashful and halts the talk of the wordy. He not only does not monopolize conversation but permits no one else to do so. He keeps talk on a mutually stimulating level.

PREJUDICE AND BIAS

Most discussion is unscientific. It usually rests on hearsay evidence and involves opinions rather than facts. The tendency to communicate, to share with others what one hears, is so great that most persons speak before investigating. Very few receive training in discriminating between opinion and fact. The law student is an exception, for he is taught to distinguish between "what is" and what he "thinks is so."

Ignorance is the source of prejudice and bias. Ignorance that thinks itself enlightened is unusually dangerous. Moreover a little learning just enough to give its possessor the feeling that he is fully competent, is a dangerous thing,⁵ for it makes him dogmatic and unreasonable.

Prejudice and bias which grow out of ignorance are major causes of unscientific discussion. They easily lead to misrepresentation and rush a discussion downhill into a fracas. The major rôles of prejudice were observed long ago by Francis Bacon, whose dissertation on the *idols* of the tribe, the theater, the forum, and the cave pointed a way whereby a person might be freed from control by dogma and superstition.⁶ Bacon located the origins of prejudice in anthropomorphic judgments, that is, in judgments which a person makes because he looks upon the world through the eyes of a human being (*idols of the tribe*). He persists in thinking of matters outside of human life chiefly in human terms. His human nature is a colored lens through which his outside vision is discolored and distorted.⁷

Bacon found some of the sources of bias in traditions, such as

⁵ As Alexander Pope once said.

⁶ See A. K. Rogers, *A Student's History of Philosophy* (Macmillan, 1908), p. 238.

⁷ In *The Art of Straight Thinking* by Edwin L. Clarke (Appleton, 1929), Chs. I-IV will be found a thorough-going discussion of the causes, cures, and preventives of prejudiced thinking.

religious systems, agnosticism, Epicureanism, communism, Mormonism, or any other system that envelops the thinking of a people and controls the education of their young (idols of the theater). Furthermore, words and language are used variously and are continually misinterpreted. Meanings are misconstrued. They are used in one sense by one person and in another by the next person. False interpretations of one another's statements are made and prejudices are generated (idols of the forum). And then, every person has peculiar experiences, in fact, he never experiences life just as other persons do. In consequence he does not interpret life just as other persons do; he generalizes upon his experiences as though they were universal. He develops individualistic and exceptional reactions to life, which too often take the form of special prejudices (idols of the cave). Bacon's injunctions have been summarized as follows: *Get as little of yourself and of other selves as possible in the way of the thing which you wish to see.* In general Bacon's analyses of pre-judgments in life vitally color every discussion.

Prejudice may be a judgment on the basis of unrepresentative facts, "a hasty judgment or an opinion formed without due examination."⁸ Human desires select data to the disadvantage of truth. Wishful thinking, prompting to rash statements crops out as the bane of nearly every discussion. To inhibit wishful thinking is to blot out many prejudices and to increase one's reliability as a thinker.⁹

Primitive people were so steeped in prejudices and superstitions that one wonders how they ever lifted discussion on to a plane of truth. The part that false assumptions play in discussion among primitive people is illustrated by Frazer in his *Golden Bough*. In volume after volume of this work¹⁰ innumerable illustrations follow one another until the reader questions how primitive man received any sound beliefs from his fellows. Primitive prejudices still persist;¹¹ subtle ones anesthetize the educated. Mythology passes away but its place is taken by highly rationalized systems of beliefs.¹²

⁸ W. F. Ogburn, "Bias, Psychoanalysis, and the Subjective in Relation to the Social Sciences," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XVII: 62-74.

⁹ "Prejudice as Outcome of Subjective Patterns," is well handled by Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (Knopf, 1930), Chs. XVIII, XIX. Important and subtle conditioning factors are pointed out.

¹⁰ For convenience the reader may consult the single volume edition (Macmillan, 1922).

¹¹ The emotional basis of prejudice and bias is developed by H. S. Elliott, *The Process of Group Thinking* (Association Press, 1928). The author gives helpful suggestions for overcoming the baneful effects of prejudice in group discussions.

¹² For an excellent analysis of the ways that prejudice affects people's thinking, see A. B. Wolfe, *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method* (Macmillan, 1923),

THE DISCUSSION GROUP

The true discussion group is one of few members where everyone comes prepared to contribute facts as well as opinions, and where a consensus not a debate is aimed at. Out of the pooling of data new flashes of insight occur and creative progress is made. Creative discussion is free from fear or domination; it is stimulative and the most significant group activity known to man.

Coöperative research involves creative discussion. Everyone contributes from his storehouse of training and knowledge; everyone pursues a line of study for which he is best fitted and which has been agreed upon as his appropriate task; all pool their findings. The results are not a mere sum total; they are creative, emergent, and in part unanticipated. Coöperative research is scientific discussion in fullest operation.

The *open forum* is an attempt to utilize the discussion-group principle in large meetings. It tends to become a lecture platform with a few would-be spell-binders clamoring for the floor.

The *committee* is a discussion group, but often a poor one. The chairman and one or two other people do most of the work. Unfortunate tendencies are to allow one person to dominate with the others nodding assent, or for two members to engage in a drawn-out fruitless debate. A free exchange of ideas rarely occurs, although cheap opinions may fill the air. Graham Wallas states that of three thousand committee meetings which he had attended "at least half of the men and women with whom I sat were entirely unaware that any conscious mental effort on their part was called for."¹³ One of the best ways to guarantee the efficiency of a committee meeting is to have its work planned beforehand and to have each member responsible for a part of the work. The chairman is a key person, not in doing all the work, but in getting the necessary preliminary work done before the meeting convenes, and in keeping the discussion mobile and headed toward an objective.

Boards of arbitration, wage boards, a jury, a President's Cabinet, and so on, also are discussion groups. In good faith the representatives of different points of view come together to speak face to face, to question one another, and to obtain information and opinions from one another. Sometimes experts are present or are called in. Often the desire to come to an agreement by peaceful means predominates. Time and again all

where the prejudices of conservatives and of radicals are laid bare by being measured against the scientific spirit.

¹³ *The Great Society* (Macmillan, 1914), p. 243.

earnestly seek to overcome a deadlock. Often the combined abilities of all are united to solve a knotty problem.

The *little university within the big* is all important. Equal even to the university lectures are those informal discussions held regularly by those students who meet to discuss what they have heard in the classroom. It is in such discussion groups that new flashes of insight come, that big truths are segregated from small ones, that deeper meanings come to the surface. An important way to discover new truth is in discussion with kindred minds where ideas leap high. The modern neglect of informal discussion is deplored by Graham Wallas, caused, he thinks, by the speeding-up of the life-pace, by the increased emphasis on material gain, and by multiplied size and complexity of the Great Society.¹⁴

The shift from oral discussion to "discussion conducted in print" or by radio represents expansion but loss in sharp, intensive stimulation. In the newspaper, discussion is widely carried on but usually by special interests, such as those of the owner or of large-scale advertisers. The owner's bias usually takes the form of his own special economic interests or those of his economic class. Occasionally in parallel columns¹⁵ or in successive issues of a newspaper or magazine the opposing sides of a question are presented. The *Literary Digest* has long presented editorial opinions on both sides of the chief topics that engage public attention. As sampling opinions this method is helpful, but as a survey of the facts that lie behind the opinions it is weak.

Semi-scientific magazines, scientific journals, and similar books are excellent vehicles of discussion. They present findings of research and critical discussions thereof. Unfortunately their appeal is limited. The more scientifically reliable they are, the narrower is their public.

Platform and pulpit discourses often create discussion. They often take the leading truths of science, art, religion, put them into popular imagery, and turn them into the paths of discussion. The assembly¹⁶ is designed especially to promote thoughtful discussions.

New and interesting experiments are being tried in the holding of annual conferences and conventions, for which Americans are becoming notorious. The traditional convention has been a cut-and-ried affair. Everything is pre-arranged; the set-up is definite; annual conventions become big shows. To offset these evils, experiments are being tried in calling a conference with no previously arranged program except for the

¹⁴ *The Great Society* (Macmillan, 1914), p. 243.

¹⁵ As in the municipal newspaper that was attempted a number of years ago in Los Angeles.

¹⁶ To be discussed in terms of group psychology in a later chapter.

selection of topics or fields of discussion. Leaders are summoned from their variously stimulating fields of activity to pool their experiences. The weaknesses are those of an ordinary committee meeting, with its ill-prepared members and its haphazard procedure. Worth-while results will eventuate.¹⁷

PARTIZAN DISCUSSION

Discussion tends to be partizan rather than strictly scientific. A person in conversation with another usually finds himself presenting or defending one side of a question rather than the whole truth. Partizanship is inevitable and not pernicious provided that the partizans keep in mind their own biases. When a partizan fails to appreciate the attitudes of those who disagree, when he assumes a personal cocksureness, when he allows his emotions to unbalance him, he is likely to defeat his cause.

Salesmanship is a form of partizan discussion. The salesman may resort to the subtlest suggestions. He may exaggerate the strong points of his goods, he may dominate the prospective customer and lead him to purchase what he does not need or cannot afford. He may gain such a command of suggestion that people generally are at his mercy.

Courses in salesmanship carry the technique to extreme lengths in showing how salesmen may make and clinch arguments. Logically courses to fortify people against high-powered salesmanship are needed.

College debates are training courses in quick-witted discussion. Rebuttals aim to reverse quickly the impressions concerning truth. Opinion is met by opinion, partial truth by partial truth, authorities are challenged and the whole truth at any point is undermined by subtle suggestion. Capable "judges" who can follow the real pathways of truth are often thrown off the trail while the ordinary listener is quite obfuscated unless he is a partizan or an expert. The urge for victory, and for the personal and group status which victory will bring, becomes overpowering. Debating easily develops discussion patterns of misleading people as well as patterns of getting at the truth.

In *political campaigns* partizan discussion becomes most vehement. All the wiles of clever public speakers with their uses of indirect suggestion and appeals to crowd psychology are called into action. Partizan speakers address partizan crowds. The "whoop-er-up" spirit runs rampant. Real discussion is submerged beneath floods of oratory. At a political

¹⁷ A summary of the large-scale group discussion procedure and of what has been learned from it is presented by Harrison S. Elliott, *The Process of Group Thinking*, (Association Press, 1928). Many practical suggestions are made by Mr. Harrison, who has had considerable experience in stimulating "group thinking."

meeting held in Los Angeles some time ago, three thousand specially designated "vice-presidents" of the meetings shouted themselves hoarse whenever the name of their favorite candidate was mentioned. At a similar political meeting in Kansas City four bands bellowed forth and a thousand Stars and Stripes were waved frantically at climactic points. Systematic heckling and other negative devices also make free discussion a farce.

Theological discussion often becomes a pitting of dogma against dogma. When scientific truth is advanced, acrimoniousness increases to the point of heresy trials and bitter persecution. The discussions that have raged about evolution and religion, the Virgin birth, immersion versus sprinkling, and so forth are rarely worthy of the name. Nowhere else have feelings and prejudices so balked the quest for truth.

Legal battles represent highly skilled partizan discussion. Lawyers trained in argumentative discussion often resort to emotional appeals, innuendo, and to a muddling of the truth. They put up a good case for the weak side and riddle the strong. Between two sets of pyrotechnical arguments, sober, thoughtful discussion is defeated and juries are bewildered.

OPPOSITION TO DISCUSSION

Weak or losing causes oppose discussion, for otherwise their tenure would be doomed.¹⁸ Intimidation and calumny are used to head off discussion; weak causes at bay will resort to any vicious means in order to forestall discussion. Leaders who stir up embarrassing discussions are mobbed, exiled, or otherwise put out of the way.

Custom fears discussion. Custom would lose status if discussion disclosed its weaknesses. Custom pronounces some subjects too sacred for discussion and thus maintains its control. Political, religious, industrial, and other autocrats, in the name of "patriotism," "God," and "sacredness of economic institutions" still throttle freedom of discussion as a means of maintaining their own forms of custom control. Conscientious objectors are still kept in prison long after the procedure to which they objected has ceased to exist. When discussion prevails, custom must submit to surgery and rejuvenation.

An interesting history of the human race could be written in terms of the struggle for freedom of discussion. Political democracy originated in this struggle. Free speech and a free press¹⁹ were products. The number of "open subjects" with which public discussion began his-

¹⁸ See E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), p. 307.

¹⁹ In their present incomplete form.

torically must have been small. The fight against it still continues, for nothing equals it in dispelling the mystery and autocracy of custom control. Deliberation is at first "profane," for it seems to be ruthless in its inroads upon privileged beliefs. It is permitted first with reference to the visible and tangible for these by their nature cannot be kept under custom control after people begin to think for themselves. Discussion then spreads to the less observable and to special hidden privileges. At once the beneficiaries of secret privilege attempt intimidation.

Under political autocracy no parties and no public discussion of the government are tolerated. Under political democracy discussion of governmental policies is given rein and political parties challenge each other to discussion. Adroitness results. In international diplomacy still, open discussion is feared. Most nations have skeletons in the closet to be protected against discussion. Woodrow Wilson was sneered at and finally overwhelmed in the making of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 when he pled for "open agreements openly arrived at." His hands at Paris were tied because the United States had entered in the war in 1917, subject to the secret agreements which had already been made by the Allies.

SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSION

Scientific discussion is wholly open. It is rational, free from bias and prejudice. It is not enslaved by personal urges for power or status. It has no "axe to grind." Its spirit is that of E. A. Ross's classic challenge: "Hence, I beg, messieurs, the discreet critics, to lay on right heartily, remembering that in showing its errors they are triumphing *with the* author, not over him."²⁰

Scientific discussion at its highest level is socio-rational. It takes social values into consideration. It is not other-worldly, utopian, removed from the practical. It is democratic in that all facts and ideas have a fair hearing. Authorities do not dominate. The old yields freely to the new whenever the latter demonstrates its superior worth.

In a research society, for example, a member advanced certain new ideas. At the conclusion of his paper, these ideas were freely criticized by several members of the group. A free-for-all discussion ensued. The reader of the paper granted certain weaknesses but indicated how he had been stimulated by the discussion in several new directions.

In scientific discussion truth is the goal, and merit is the god. Scientific discussion is unpretentious. It shouts nothing from housetops and does not

²⁰ Preface to *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), p. VIII.

stoop to high pressure salesmanship. It falls back continually upon facts, upon their tested meanings, upon the laboratory methods. It encourages each participant to do his own thinking to preserve an inquiring turn of mind, to be accurate, to keep wishful thinking suppressed, to use the experimental method.

Scientific discussion is handicapped by irrational education. Narrow or specialized education permits supposedly "cultured" people to cling to many superstitions, to cherish outworn theories, to hound the spokesmen of science. What sets itself up as education and culture is often mere bias that has been swallowed whole. Biases gain intellectual standing and preside over many discussions. A thousand mouths voice them until they become Juggernauts of opinion.

Scientific discrimination is often balked by commercialization. The "practical" is favored; theory is made fun of. Ideas which lead to service rather than to profits fall on deaf ears; ideas which look like "a million dollars" are given breathless attention.

Pecuniary discussion rules in business. Where there must be regular accounting, where there is a competitive struggle for gains over losses, then profits preside at discussions. In business, merit is commercialized, ideas are "sold," a man's value is discussed in terms of dollars, and profits become the high priestess.

Scientific discussion is both conservative and radical. It is rational in that it supports "the good old ways" providing no better ideas have demonstrated their superiority. It is radical in that it gives a fair hearing to all new ideas. It gives up the "old" for the "new"; it forsakes the old dwelling with its sentiment for the new home; it renounces autocracy for more liberality.

Scientific discussion listens to but is not dominated by the pronouncements of the Great Man. It lets the Crowd shout itself hoarse; it allows no Crowd whims to rule. It ignores prestige and mobmindedness alike. It hearkens to all but it is not made of putty.

DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION

Democratic discussion aims to bring out all points of view. In a labor union meeting, for instance, men learn to speak on various subjects, to take part systematically in discussion, to vote and abide by results, thus giving many of them their only first-hand lessons in democracy. In a socialized recitation students lead in turn in place of continuous leadership by the teacher. In a community council meeting the people, the ordi-

nary neighborhood folk participate in and direct the discussions, and thus experience new degrees of democratic consciousness.

Democratic discussion as noted in the preceding paragraph is often wasteful. In hours of group crisis democratic discussion is generally too slow, but in ordinary times the gains are likely to be greater than the losses. Everyone who in good faith participates in turn and contributes something worth while to a group discussion develops a new sense of social responsibility.²¹

Democratic discussion often "prevents hasty action"; it secures thoughtful consideration. W. R. George tells how the boys at the "Republic" in Freeville, New York, while under the impulses of the moment once passed an eight hour law without much if any discussion, and then went fishing. Upon their return they found that the girls at the "Republic" had taken advantage of the new law, locked up the kitchen, and gone on a picnic. But the boys however before going to bed supperless that night rescinded the eight hour law and passed another to the effect that thereafter no bill would be voted on until it had been posted and discussed for three days.²² Discussion protects against impulsive leadership and crowd action.

Release from arbitrary control opens the doors of democratic discussion. Everything gets a hearing, when the gates of discussion are opened. E. A. Ross tells how he found the Russians in 1917 after the overthrow of the Czar gathering everywhere and all talking at once. "At the height of some ardent discussion the din becomes deafening, several pouring forth a torrent of argument, expostulation, or remonstrance, and no one able to follow the speech of any other."²³ But this is democratic discussion at its extreme.

Democratic discussion necessarily includes much idle talk, many useless "gabfests," and widespread airing of whimsical ideas. As a rule it is better to hold meetings where disgruntled people can talk themselves out than to throw them in jail. The first procedure will do little harm if the conditions railed against are in reality sound. If conditions are deplorable then agitation is needed. If a reformer is suppressed, a revolution will be hastened, ripping out good values along with bad ones.

Too much talk hinders progress. A campaign, Macaulay once said, cannot be directed by a debating society. People need to be trained for

²¹ Some of the problems inherent in securing democratic discussion are treated by M. P. Follett, *Creative Experience* (Longmans, Green, 1924), Chs. IX, XI, XIII.

²² W. R. George, *Junior Republic* (Appleton, 1909), p. 229.

²³ E. A. Ross, *Russia in Upheaval* (Century, 1918), p. 189.

group discussion; they have become accustomed to letting the few dominate.²⁴

Basic to democratic discussion is training people to distinguish between prejudice, opinion, and fact, to make succinct statements, to consider one another, to fall back upon research. No person can become an authority on everything but everyone may make studies and become an authority along one or more narrow lines, and contribute his findings to discussion groups.

Socio-rational Discussion. The distinction between rational discussion and socio-rational discussion is one of emphasis on social values. To ordinary rationality the addition of sociality is made. Rational discussion which assumes social responsibility is socio-rational. Rational discussion prides itself on having no standards except those of truth. But the truth that it puts uppermost is often partial and incomplete, remote from effects on human integration.

Ability, efficiency, power, are terms praised in rational discussion, while character, disinterested service, social sympathy are put foremost in socio-rational discussion. The standards of rational discussion have often maintained local, narrow, mean ends; socio-rational standards are always broad, human, and comprehensive.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Discussion at its best is intellectual coöperation.
2. The chief enemies of discussion are ignorance, prejudice, bias, dogmatism, and wishful thinking.
3. Gossip is an informal discussion operating secretly and magnifying the cheapest hearsay.
4. The discussion group where each person comes prepared to contribute new ideas and to be stimulated leads to creative thinking.
5. With growth in communication discussion extends in scope but lessens in intensity.
6. Partizan discussions include such forms of intersocial stimulation as salesmanship, legal battles, college debates, political campaigns, theological polemics.
7. Weak or losing causes shun discussion.
8. The rise of democracy involves a struggle for freedom of discussion.
9. Free discussion deepens a person's sense of responsibility and furthers socialization.

PROBLEMS

1. Why does prejudice cut down the efficiency of discussion?
2. What types of prejudice did Bacon warn against?

²⁴ See H. S. Elliott, *The Process of Group Thinking* (Association Press, 1929), Chs. VII, VIII, XIII, and Appendix II, for ideas for training people to take part thoughtfully in group discussions.

3. Why did Bacon dwell so extensively on "idols"?
4. Why is discussion able "to hurry conflicts to a conclusion"?
5. Under what conditions is discussion profitless?
6. What is gossip?
7. What are the weaknesses of gossip?
8. Why is there so much gossip?
9. Why does gossip generally assume an air of secrecy?
10. Why does gossip center on personality?
11. What do people talk about most of the time?
12. How is talk an aid to progress?
13. What are the weaknesses of partizan discussion?
14. What is the relation of discussion to democracy?
15. How does discussion prevent hasty action?
16. Why are several discussion groups better than one large mass meeting?
17. Why has mankind had to fight so hard for freedom of discussion?

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CHAPTER XIX

SUGGESTION

SUGGESTION is the process of sending out specific stimuli to which specific responses are made. It is the stimulation-response process at work in particular situations. If there is no stimulus or if there is no response, then suggestion has not occurred. Suggestion may refer to the simplest cry of an infant and the mother's response, or it may extend to a series of campaign speeches and an ensuing election, or to a world movement for a League of Nations.

Suggestion depends for its success on the configuration of personalities. If a person is accustomed to acting in a certain way then a related suggestion will secure response. If there is no configuration of personality in the direction of the suggestion then there will be either a negative response or no response. If the suggestion be directly against the configuration of personality then the response will be negative, but if it operate in a field foreign to the configuration then usually it will not be noticed.

If you are fond of apple pie and someone between meals mentions apple pie, you are quite certain to feel hungry for apple pie. If I enjoy baseball and someone casually refers to an important game now in progress near by while I am writing these lines, I shall find myself presently looking for my cap and restless to go. Furthermore, if there are no seriously inhibiting responses, I shall go to the game. On the other hand, if apple pie is too heavy, the mention of it will bring a negative response. But if one suggests to me the Russian dish, "borsch," its mention has no meaning and my response will not be definitely positive or negative but one of wonder or of idle curiosity. Thus it is evident that suggestion (normally) operates within the field of personality configuration, of behavior patterns, of attitudes. What you are accustomed not to do and to dislike you respond to negatively; what you know nothing whatsoever about, you are neutral upon, or cautious about; what you like, you accept gladly.

The contention of Boris Sidis that a suggested idea meets at once with more or less opposition is too sweeping. It does not distinguish between configurations of personalities. It is only when the suggested idea runs counter to or in a field different from one's configuration of per-

sonality that it meets with opposition. If it is in line, then it is more or less readily accepted.

The distinction between suggestion and a suggestion is important. Suggestion is a process while a suggestion is the main or initial stimulus which starts off the process. It requires two or more persons to make the process possible but any person may give a suggestion. Even a gesture, a look, a word may play the rôle of a suggestion.

DIRECT SUGGESTION

Suggestion is direct or indirect. If direct, it usually comes in some form of a command; often, it appears with authority and prestige. It is illustrated by the parental command to the child who promptly obeys, by the priestly injunction to the worshipper, by the officer's orders to the private, by the hypnotist's instructions to his subject. In these cases there are behavior patterns already established which are released by direct suggestion.

Hypnotism affords a productive field for the study of direct suggestion. As a social phenomenon it is as yet not sufficiently understood to be recommended. Under present conditions, only the specially trained psychologist is entitled to experiment with hypnotism. Hypnotic suggestion consists of direct commands which secure responses from the established behavior patterns of the subject. The latter may be made to climb, to swim, or to act as though stung by bees, but he cannot be stimulated to act contrary to his configuration of personality. Hypnotic suggestion in medical and psychical therapy is still experimental. The procedure is usually that of helping the patient to organize new activity paths so that re-organization may follow physical or mental breakdown. In the field of legal testimony it is argued that an alleged offender may be hypnotized and his possible guilt discovered. The theory is that a hypnotized person being no longer protected by his ordinary astuteness will disclose facts that will indicate whether or not he is guilty. The theory has merit if the offense occurred in the field of established behavior patterns; otherwise it is unreliable.

Indirect Suggestion. Indirect suggestion operates unrecognized by the subject. While his attention is centered elsewhere a suggestion is made to some of his unsatisfied behavior patterns. E. A. Ross has aptly used the label of slantwise suggestion; it is a flank movement as distinguished from the frontal approaches of direct suggestion. Indirect suggestion is more subtle and probably more common than direct suggestion. Since direct sug-

gestion arouses a person's attention he brings at least a portion of his store of experience to bear upon it. But an indirect suggestion slips in past the policeman at the door of attention. Moreover, many actions of every person which are not intended as suggestions secure responses from associates and add to the flood of indirect suggestions.

The typical child responds almost as readily to direct as to indirect suggestions. The adult is perhaps more susceptible to indirect than to direct suggestions. The child has limited organized experiences by which to judge direct suggestions and hence is more responsive than is the adult. Not having much of his mental life organized into behavior patterns, he is more or less free to respond in any direction. Hence the child is known for his suggestibility.

The constructive uses of indirect suggestion are many. "When I wish my young brother on the opposite side of the dinner table to sit up straight," says a young lady, "I straighten up suddenly myself, without comment, without interrupting the conversation, and without even glancing at my brother, and he responds." By setting examples without comment it is possible to secure constructive responses that more directness would defeat.

When many teachers and parents nag, scold, and order, "Don't do this," and "Don't do that," they are chagrined and even aggrieved because the child reacts contrarily. They have made no appeal to the child's constructive behavior patterns or to his unorganized exuberant energies. Their negative demands are repressive of that which cannot be repressed without doing the child harm.

Other teachers and parents create a pleasant atmosphere, set one constructive example after another, take a large viewpoint, and indirectly suggest the best. Straightforward behavior is natural to children; straightforward examples secure response. Mere precept is often ineffective because it urges too greatly a line of behavior for which the individual has no behavior patterns, because it does not arouse spontaneity, or because it forbids.

A rather large boy, John, was transferred from the seventh grade to the ungraded room, of which I have charge, because in the seventh grade "he would do absolutely nothing but arithmetic and drawing," reported the regular teacher. In the ungraded room I allowed John to follow his own inclinations to a large extent; as a result, he did well in his two favorite subjects of arithmetic and drawing, but in no other work. Knowing from the unpleasant experiences of his former teachers that it would be useless to insist on studying the despised geography or history lesson, I said nothing about these subjects, but mentioned only the two subjects which he enjoyed. One day, however, while discussing a geography lesson with a group of pupils, I asked John if he would draw on the

blackboard a certain map for the use of the geography class that day, complimenting him in the presence of the class upon his ability to draw. Each day thereafter, I asked him to draw some assignment in the geography lesson, taking care that the assignments would require more and more reading in geography on his part. A similar method was pursued in history, with the result that at the close of the year John was doing creditable work in both geography and history—the subjects in which he had failed in the regular grade work.¹

In this case of indirect suggestion the teacher appealed to the boy's unsatisfied urges for activity and for status, and as a result the responses were so spontaneous and free that they lent pleasure to the normally unpleasant. Teaching is thus a process of finding out the unsatisfied urges, of creating opportunities, of organizing the unpleasant under the pleasant.

The press despatches stated that Princess Mary of England upon the announcement of her wedding in 1922 received 600 presents before the wedding from persons who had not been invited, many of whom it was indicated, hoped thereby to receive an invitation. It is reported that this use of indirect suggestion failed. Conventional standards defeated the indirect suggestion.

A librarian, noticing that the young people were reading low grade novels, pasted on the inside of the front and back covers of these books this statement: "Other books of this type are. . . ." Here she gave the names of three or four works of fiction, being careful to mention books of a little higher grade than the ones in which the notices appeared. In a short time it was found that the youthful patrons of the library were reading better books. The librarian repeated the process, with the result that in a year's time, the type of fiction read had markedly improved. By slow steps the readers were educated through indirect suggestion to appreciate better literature.

A merchant, having too many slow-pay customers, offered prizes for the best essays on the subject: How to collect accounts. Considerable discussion developed about long-term credits. Since the merchant lived in a neighborhood of ordinarily honest and well-to-do people who had grown simply careless in their treatment of the neighborhood grocer, his indirect appeal was effective and he saved himself from bankruptcy. He had pricked into action the lethargic attitudes of paying one's obligations. Had he lived where people had no patterns of paying their honest debts, the indirect method would probably have failed. Had he lived in a neighborhood of the delinquent wealthy even his indirect methods would have produced resentment rather than payment.

¹ From ms. by R. S., a school teacher in Los Angeles.

In a certain California school prejudice had developed against a few Japanese and Chinese children who were in attendance. The teacher arranged a debate on the theme: Resolved that China has advanced further democratically in the last ten years than Japan has done. She appointed three pupils on each side of the question, and one-half of the remaining pupils to gather information for the affirmative debaters and the other half to work for the negative side. All the pupils fell to studying about the peoples of China and Japan and the struggle in each of these countries to secure democracy. By the day of the debate marked interest in and sympathy for both the Chinese and the Japanese had developed. As a result of her skilful use of indirect suggestion, the teacher experienced no further trouble because of race prejudice. Her procedure had expanded her pupils' sympathetic responses to include the peoples of China and Japan and hence the Chinese and Japanese children in her school.

A farmer systematically set out to persuade his neighbors to paint their barns during the same season. The anticipated result happened, for land values rose several dollars an acre for all. Buyers had been made indirectly to feel that the land in that area must be of superior grade or the farmers would not be so prosperous. This was a use of indirect suggestion which verged on misrepresentation.

Often there would be something to correct and I would tell the superintendent not what he ought to do, but what some other man had done under similar circumstances. . . . Then on my next visit, the superintendent would say, "You know what you told me about so and so. Well, I tried it and it worked first rate."²

This use of indirect suggestion by a member of a board of charities was successful because the superintendents who responded came to believe that the suggested plans were their own. By indirect suggestion they were stimulated to take a little initiative and thereupon they felt a special responsibility.

In a discussion a person sometimes begins by agreeing as far as he can with his opponent. By so doing he stimulates a more or less expansive, unguarded mental activity on the part of the opponent and leads him step by step to endorse a new position. To arouse this spontaneity and expansive activity is often better than to antagonize bluntly.

In one of the cantonments in the World War a group of soldiers who were testing their gas masks thought that they smelled gas when there was none. In the concentration of attention upon attempting to detect

² Alexander Johnson, *Adventures in Social Welfare* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1923), p. 139.

gas the habit mechanisms for smelling gas were released. This expectation-releasing process operates easily. At times it is beyond personal control. It produces many of the worries and fears which beset most people.

The stranger and immigrant are especially subject to indirect suggestion. An immigrant of several years' standing opened a banking business in a Pennsylvania town, but for a time had little patronage from the incoming aliens even of his own race. He hit upon the plan of purchasing a large safe and putting it in the large front window of his store. At once the money on deposit increased rapidly—not because he had proved himself an honest banker but because he had a reliable-looking safe. A safe meant safety; he had a safe: therefore he was a safe man with whom to leave money.

Mark Twain's Tom Sawyer has the unpleasant, irksome task of whitewashing a fence. When a boy passes whom Tom knows, Tom boasts of his ability to whitewash but deliberately daubs the fence. The sight causes the newcomer to challenge Tom, seize the brush and exhibit his own skill. Other boys gather. Meanwhile the fence is whitewashed—with Tom merely looking on. Tom has "elevated fence painting to the rank of the most popular sport in the home town,—even on a day when fishing and swimming had been scheduled." Tom had aroused the first onlooker's reactions to do better than Tom was doing, and the onlooker having turned painter was kept at the work after it became onerous in order to maintain status in the eyes of the other onlookers who had gathered.

Adolescents are continually resorting to indirect suggestion as a means of controlling their younger comrades. They use hollow rewards in order to get unpleasant things done. The high honor (!) of being an "everlasting fielder" gets balls "shagged" without loss of turn at bat on the part of the older players. Bullying and bluffing are indirect suggestions capitalized for personal advantage.

Children sometimes resort to indirect suggestion as a means of influencing their elders. The procedure ranges from harmless cleverness to deception. When George was visiting his aunt, the latter removed a pan of hot cookies from the oven. George looked on wistfully and said: "My mother told me not to ask for anything." The look and the remark, both perhaps innocent, stimulated the aunt's feeling of sympathy and before she was aware of what she was doing she was urging the boy to help himself.

Indirect suggestion may be used for worthy public ends. When Roosevelt was police commissioner in New York City, he received an applica-

tion for police protection from a rabid anti-Jewish speaker who was invading the Jewish section of the city. The request was granted, but it did not take the anti-Jewish demagogue long to appreciate the indirect suggestion in the fact that he was being protected by a detail of twenty-five Jewish policemen. To denounce Jews who had been assembled to protect him and who were the official representatives of the government was not feasible.

An Armenian immigrant from Turkey came with fear patterns due to persecutions in Turkey and with habits of giving policemen graft money for protection. When he reached the United States and started out on a city street, he met a policeman and, completely terrified, offered him a dollar saying: "Sir, one dollar, that is all," meaning that he had but one dollar to give as a bribe if not taken to jail. Although entirely innocent, the sight of an American policeman was sufficient to release the behavior patterns that had been built up in Turkey.

The harmful uses of indirect suggestion are many. In public and private life alike the temptations are serious. Politicians usually succumb to the temptation to use indirect suggestion because of the possibilities of success without detection. Demagogues and charlatans are skilled in manipulating the public by indirect suggestion. Ultimately the public becomes disgusted.

In a certain city the people were lethargic about voting needed water bonds. Hence for some time before voting day the newspapers said much about a shortage of water. Moreover, rigid restrictions were put into force. The indirect suggestion was powerful and the bonds were voted. However, after election day the restrictions were rescinded even though the new water supply would not be available for years.

Indirect suggestions often function by stimulating imaginative activity and thus unduly arouse hopes or fears. In this way indirect suggestions may carry the poison darts of insinuation. If in recommending a person for a position I conservatively and innocently state that the young man will do "fairly well," the employer at once pictures several possible weaknesses of the candidate rather than merely one. By the use of the word "fairly" I have stimulated the employer's attention in a dozen ways that do the candidate injustice. All the good things that I may have included are overshadowed. To write accurate and fair letters of recommendation is no easy task. Most writers of recommendations have become so fearful of doing candidates injustice that their letters are often valueless, but the problem is so difficult that they are to be pitied rather than condemned.

Flattery is shrewd indirect suggestion. It inflates the subject's estimate of himself, makes him expansive, leads him to unduly favorable attitudes toward the flatterer. Even most persons who are familiar with the flatterer's technique still enjoy a little of it now and then. The urge for increased status quickly responds.

Slogans, campaign shibboleths, newspaper and billboard advertisements often rely on indirect suggestion. The advertisements by the cigarette promoters of the good looking young man or young woman falsely imply that the particular brand has given youth its attractiveness. The full dinner pail slogan implies prosperity in the immediate future and stimulates pleasurable responses. It makes no suggestion regarding higher costs of living. It suggests that the party which promises the full dinner pail has a monopoly on the means of providing it. The advertisement of the luscious strawberry cake and the name of a baking powder suggests that the use of the latter produces the former.

An act is a better suggestion than an idea. When a person's attention is centered on another's conversation he may disagree but at the same time repeat the other's gestures of hand and his mannerisms. Pantomimic and facial gestures are effective stimuli; they spread rapidly, and may become national in scope. Nearly everyone responds to rhythm; martial music automatically sets up responses in nearly all who hear it. Actions being more visible than ideas and music more audible, are highly stimulative. But there must be behavior patterns and tendencies already in existence or responses will be missing.

The motion picture that portrays stealing, burglary, sex vivacity has harmful effects through its appeals to the exciting and the forbidden. "Haven't you noticed that a crime which is pictured in the movies is usually punished before the film is ended?" a young delinquent was asked who attributed his downfall to the motion picture. "Oh, yes," he replied, "but after I get the idea of how to commit a daring act I always am willing to take a chance that I won't get caught." In other words the film in showing how a guilty person gets caught is indirectly showing how a cleverer person might escape free. If the theft act or the sex act on the film is exciting and stimulates repressed urges, it leads to similar actions on the part of observers.

The strength of the unconscious acceptance of many behavior patterns is remarkable. A lady of refinement says: "When that stuttering song, 'K-K-Katie' first came out, my little niece delighted to sing it, much to my chagrin. I despised and abhorred it. But a few weeks later, much to my own amazement and her satisfaction, my niece caught me singing

it as I set the table for dinner." The "catchy" nature of the song had met with a response among the unorganized impulses in the woman's nature and broken forth without her awareness.

Even the engineer-president of the United States has demonstrated his ability to use indirect suggestion. Note the following sentences taken from his message to the American people on November 7, 1930, after the November election had indicated a strong shift in public opinion from the Republican to the Democratic party. They represent an appeal to the good will of a victorious minority.

To this end the seventy-second Congress will not be an obstructive body. It will not seek to embarrass the President of the United States, but will be glad to coöperate with him and with the members of the opposite party in the House and Senate in every measure that conduces to the welfare of the country. It has in mind no rash policies.

The Democratic legislative leaders are serious men, constructive but not reactionary. They know perfectly well that even enlightened political selfishness demands that business should not be frightened, and that every honest industry should be aided and not hindered in the necessarily slow progress back to prosperity. . . . There will be no holding up of necessary appropriations, no rejection of fit appointees to important places merely because these appointments are made by a President of the opposite party.³

IMMEDIATE, COUNTER, AND MEDIATE SUGGESTION

Generally speaking, we can say that a suggestion either direct or indirect is carried out literally and without delay. The stimulus arouses reactions in line with a person's attitudes or his basic urges and immediate response naturally occurs. The captain gives the order, "March," and the company moves forward; the child says, "I'm thirsty," and the mother gets a glass of water. Someone cries, "Fire," and a panic ensues. There is no delay. The springs to action are released and immediate action occurs. There is no time for reflection, or no time is taken for reflection; and hence no modification from normal, habitual, instinctive responses takes place. *Immediate suggestion* thus is exceedingly common.

Counter suggestion is a phase of immediate suggestion whereby a suggestion is followed by a response opposite to those that are expected. A parent says to a child: "Sit down," and the child replies: "I won't." Direct suggestion often is followed by contrary responses. By its nature it invites adverse reactions. Indirect suggestion is more disarming.

Sometimes direct suggestion meets with contrary responses because the respondent has behavior patterns that are challenged; sometimes, there

³ From statement to the public by President Herbert Hoover, November 7, 1930.

are other and more interesting things to do; sometimes, there is a temporary let-down in personality activity. In all these cases a direct suggestion has been made ill-advisedly or without understanding the attitude of the subjects. Gross violations of the subject's configuration of personality are not uncommon. Note this example:

The door-bell rang and I answered. A gentleman stood at the door and asked if I was Mr. A——, giving my correct name. He seemed like a friend of long ago, and I warmed up a bit. He said that he had a personal message for me, and I at once had visions of some pal of former days who had not forgotten me. I thrilled inwardly. He continued by saying that Mr. R., mentioning a current friend, had recommended me so favorably that he and his company were reserving some lots in a new community a hundred miles away; that they would like to sell me these at a bargain, providing I would take advantage of their proposition within the next few days when the price of such lots would be raised and when they could never again be had at such a low price—. My indignation rose, I felt that I had been politely but ridiculously imposed upon, and I didn't let him finish his neverending sales sentence. I told him no, and closed the door.⁴

Direct suggestion is often met contrarily by certain persons, who have a well-integrated personality. If change is urged, they resist; if stability is urged, they want change. They are not accustomed to act as dependent units; they cannot stand being puppets or slaves, or being blindly led.

Mediate suggestion is modified counter suggestion. Time elapses and modifications develop before a response occurs. The salesman shows you a new style of hat and asserts that it is becoming to you. You remonstrate, but perhaps the next day you return and purchase the innovation, or a modification of it. The stimulus creates a mild conflict in your reactions. Not a complete adverse reaction, as in counter suggestion, but a partly adverse one that is delayed and finally modifies results. The delay or modification or both occur because normal behavior tendencies are mildly challenged.

Suggestion, it may be summarized, is a powerful agent of control. By it persons are made, unmade, re-made; by it groups are constructed, disorganized, reorganized. A nation can use it to become democratic or autocratic. Through its educational system a group can use suggestion to indoctrinate little children in any direction. Advertisers and demagogues are powerful because of the uses to which they harness suggestion. If skilfully employed suggestion gives to a mere individual limitless power. On the other hand a mere individual is puny indeed in comparison with the tornado impacts of group or social suggestion.

⁴From ms. by B. S.

AUTO-SUGGESTION, GROUP SUGGESTION, SOCIAL SUGGESTION

Another classification of suggestion involves its source. Sometimes a suggestion originates in a person himself; sometimes, in crowd phenomena; but generally in social stimuli. The first is auto-suggestion; the second group suggestion; the third, social suggestion. Much auto-suggestion has its origins indirectly in social stimuli, and hence it is a mediated form of social suggestion. Group suggestion is of course an integrated or special form of social suggestion, coming not from individuals but from groups. Social suggestion has already been discussed at length under the headings of direct and indirect; immediate, counter, and mediate suggestion. Special attention will now be given to auto-suggestion and to group suggestion.

A person accustomed to rise at six o'clock retires with the idea that "to-morrow morning I must awaken at four," because of a trip to be made or a train to be caught. The next morning he awakens at four, and illustrates the nature of auto-suggestion. By thinking especially about a certain idea a person later finds himself carrying this idea into action without having given it further attention, even though it may call for action somewhat different from habitual behavior.

Sickness is sometimes to be explained by imagined ills. Patent medicine advertisements usually ask if the reader does not have a headache or a backache and then pronounce these aches as symptoms of some dread disease; auto-suggestion does the rest. Fear may be stimulated by a trivial incident. Many worries originate in simple events without menace but the danger possibility is magnified by auto-suggestion.

Pessimism and optimism are often partly due to auto-suggestion. A person may imagine himself as being much more important than he is, and he experiences egotism, delusions of grandeur, megalomania. He may think unduly about some slight that he has received and develop an inferiority complex. He may allow a single success to inflate him.

More auto-suggestion originates in objective or environmental stimuli, augmented by peculiar bodily or personality conditions. What a person "suggests to himself" frequently originates in social stimuli. In this sense auto-suggestion is a special expression of indirect suggestion. Couéism involves suggestions which the subject allows his organism to put into operation without special attention. In most cases Couéism does not overcome organic disturbances but gives them special opportunities to become deadly.

The unwitting responses that a person makes to objective stimuli are

to be explained in terms of his countless mechanisms and behavior patterns. Sometimes his configuration of personality develops special susceptibilities or special defenses. Again, susceptibility varies with bodily tone or health.

Group suggestions are those coming not from individuals but from the group. Their origins often are in crowd emotion, mob excitement, and war spirit. At a football game, dignified persons fall under crowd excitement and yell wildly. In a heated political debate otherwise cool persons "lose their heads" and disgrace their better moments. In a panic there is no limit to the force of group suggestion and resultant crowd hysteria. The whole field of social control is permeated by group suggestion.

RELATION OF SUGGESTION TO IMITATION

The term, imitation, has grown in scientific disfavor during recent years, partly because it has come to be used in so many different senses, and partly because it does not disclose the basic factors in the phenomena to which its label is attached.

What is the relation of direct suggestion to what is ordinarily called "conscious imitation"? Suppose that when a friend and I are walking along leisurely, he remembers another engagement and declares that he must hasten along. If my work is located in the same direction I will decide to hurry along with him. The result is not "conscious imitation," but a natural response to a direct suggestion. If my work is located in the opposite direction, then I will turn back. If I am at leisure and we are engaged in a very interesting conversation, I may decide to hurry along with this friend for a distance before turning back. In fact "conscious imitation" turns out to be natural responses in specific social situations. Sometimes conduct similar to that represented by the stimulus ensues; sometimes, the opposite; or even new and creative conduct. To use the term, "conscious imitation," is to cover up and make formal what is better explained in other terms.

If a friend announces that he must go to a store and buy a new hat, and I decide to do likewise, does "conscious imitation" offer a satisfactory explanation? Hardly. Whether or not I am stimulated to go along and select a new hat for myself depends on my need for a new hat, upon my finances, upon what conclusions I have already arrived at in the matter, and other factors. The process of deciding to purchase a new hat is to be accounted for by many factors. To say "conscious imitation" really does not explain much.

The twenty-months-old baby who after watching a group of carpenters smoking cigarettes, put a box of crayolas into his coverall pockets, and then "smoked" crayolas, imitating every move and gesture of the men, probably had no "cigarette" meanings for his acts. His impulsive activities, his incipient habits of holding and manipulating interesting objects in his hands and mouth, the centering of his attention upon the novel (to him) actions of the carpenters—all these explain the boy's unique behavior much better than the term "conscious imitation."

The first boy who wore an overseas cap of an older brother set an example of direct suggestion. The next day the neighborhood swarmed with overseas caps—made of wrapping paper, newspapers, and other materials. In this instance the first boy acquired special status or prestige and other boys deliberately sought new status. The boy without an overseas cap was "out of it." Again "conscious imitation" proves to be a blanket term which covers up rather than discloses the different or various psycho-social factors involved in social interstimulation.

Babbitt was widely advertised. Persons asked each other, "Have you read *Babbitt*?" Interesting comments were made by one reader of *Babbitt* to another, and those who had not read it felt ignorant and ashamed. Thus the impulse to read *Babbitt* spread. Few dared to confess that they were unacquainted with what their coteries were discussing. Einstein's theory of relativity was announced, and at once newspaper writers and members of women's clubs mentioned it glibly. By so doing they gain or imagine that they gain status. Thus that which may be called "conscious imitation" involves many status elements.

The cash register is invented and after it has demonstrated its usefulness, it is generally adopted by large business houses. That which demonstrates its indispensable character has a wide sale. Financial efficiency makes the cash register widely necessary. But to explain its popularity by the magic words, "conscious imitation," is totally inadequate.

Likewise unconscious imitation does not satisfactorily explain the phenomena of indirect suggestion. It is too inclusive: it is used with too many different meanings. What is often called unconscious imitation is really nothing more than automatic response to a stimulus for which a person has approximate mechanisms. A companion and I are walking together, and while we are engaged in earnest conversation, he gradually begins to walk faster. I "unconsciously imitate" my companion, but what has happened? The faster walking of my friend has stimulated me to walk faster. An activity already in operation has simply been heightened.

When a friend and I are visiting, he may take an orange from a

near-by plate and begin to peel and eat it. Presently without being aware of his act, I may do likewise. The friend's reaching for and eating an orange has released my orange-eating behavior patterns. If he had reached for a raw onion and had begun to eat it, there would have been no "unconscious imitation" on my part, for there were no patterns or tendencies of that kind to be "set off."⁵

Gabriel Tarde, a magistrate in France in the latter part of the 19th century, was struck by the recurrences in anti-social conduct. He studied first crime waves and then normal behavior, and was led thereby to make his picturesque and pioneer study of the laws of imitation.⁶ He explained recurrences in behavior in terms of imitation, and wove imitation into a three-fold psycho-social interpretation of society, with imitations spreading until they come into opposition with each other, and with oppositions leading to inventions, which in turn become centers of new imitations. For thirty years after Tarde's exposition of imitation in 1890, the concept had a great vogue. In recent years imitation as a useful concept has been hard hit. Its rating at present is low. The phenomena to which it refers are now explained more specifically in terms of stimulus, response, suggestion, configuration of personality, and so forth.

Moreover, no two persons respond exactly alike to patterns. No two have had exactly the same social heredity, the same cultural heritage, the same human experiences, and hence have not developed the same mechanisms of behavior. Thus the total responses of a person in a given social situation are not the same as of other persons. Witness the difficulty of the child in learning to write well—how hard it is for him to copy good handwriting. "Platonism produced no other Plato; Christianity yields no other Jesus or Paul."⁷

LAWS OF SUGGESTION

This discussion of *suggestion* may be summarized in terms of laws.

1. The force of a suggestion, other things being equal, varies directly in proportion to the *imputed superiority* of itself or of its source. Gabriel Tarde once said that the superior are imitated by the inferior,⁸ but he did not distinguish between the superior and the alleged superior. It is those who *are thought* to be superior who possess special powers of suggestion,

⁵ Ellsworth Faris, "The Concept of Imitation," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXXII: 367-78, has given an excellent criticism of the term, imitation.

⁶ Gabriel Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, transl. by Parsons (Holt, 1903).

⁷ W. E. Hocking, *Human Nature and its Re-making* (Yale Univ. Press, 1918), p. 250.

⁸ *Laws of Imitation*, *op. cit.*, pp. 213ff.

while the truly great are often unheeded, without special influence. Imputed rather than real superiority possesses the magic power of suggestion. Rank, fortune, birth, office fascinate the populace more than personal worth quietly expressed. The meteoric glare of a bright light on a tower is more widely compelling than a similar light on the ground.

An unsound idea championed by the alleged superior may be widely accepted without criticism, even by the really superior classes. Many of the hereditary rich insist that to inherit vast wealth is greatness and that to work for a living is disgraceful. The theory of some of them is that "lifelong loafing is more worthy of respect than lifelong industry" and that persons who work for a living are "miserable boobs." As E. A. Ross has pointed out the nine-tenths in any society who work have allowed the one-tenth who are born rich to persuade them that they are despicable because they work.⁹

The higher in status have more suggestion-power than the lower. The child adopts the language of the parent. The young preacher adopts the sermonic technique of the distinguished divine. The laboratory assistant falls into the ways of the great scientist. Society women are the idols of the debutantes, who in turn dazzle the "sub-debs." Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford early acquired *clienteles* of ambitious followers. City people set examples for the rural. College upperclassmen regulate the pace of the freshmen; fraternity men, of the neophytes. "Courtesy comes from the court." In the main, there is "a descent of example."

Exceptions to this rule are many. The superior sometimes follow the inferior. For example, Southern white people unwittingly follow the manner of the Negroes in softening the consonants and opening the vowels. A person of noble culture may slip into slang. Cheap fads are swallowed whole by "the high and mighty." The worthy congressman may resort to transparent campaign tricks; the minister, to real estate methods. The Turkey trot, the Charleston, the black bottom, the tango, jazz originate among the shallow brained and work their way upward.

2. Suggestion varies in inverse proportion to *social distance*. The closer persons are to each other, the more responsive they are. Since social nearness is a high degree of sympathetic understanding, the stage is all set for suggestion to operate. Negative reactions, however, may increase in direct proportion to social suggestion.

Variations occur. An appeal presented personally, other things being equal, is stronger than a similar appeal by mail. The stimulus of to-day is stronger than a similar one that arose ten years ago, or a similar one

⁹ *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), Ch. IX.

that may arise ten years hence. An exception to this rule is found in certain leaders who grow in power of suggestion after their death. They become "saints." Some persons, heard about but not seen, develop exaggerated reputations. Some look like giants when on a pinnacle, but when seen close up turn out to be pigmies. Familiarity may puncture prestige.

Occupational proximity when coupled with superior achievement is highly compelling, providing status is not lowered. Lawyers are entranced by eminent jurists, but scarcely notice great poets. Bankers bow down to the internationally known financial wizard, but do not respect college professors of equal ability. A teacher will adopt the ways of a famous educator but "look down upon" a more famous "movie" star.

LAWS OF SUGGESTIBILITY

The degree to which a person responds to suggestions at any time is his *suggestibility*. His likelihood of response varies. E. A. Ross was one of the first writers to analyze the laws of suggestibility.¹⁰ William McDougall, from a different viewpoint, was another early and important contributor.¹¹ Suggestibility, as explained by R. H. Gault, is "that condition of the organism in which one or another determining tendency or disposition may express itself with relative freedom."¹² This definition is incomplete; it indicates an inherited make-up and a deterministic nature, but does not bring out the rôle of such factors as knowledge, fatigue, prestige, crowd influence, configuration of personality.

In the light of the pioneering work of Ross, McDougall, Sidis, and others, and of current contributions, the characteristic nature of suggestibility may be tentatively stated. 1. The *more social* the members of species, the greater the suggestibility. Animals which live in flocks or herds are more suggestible than those which forage alone—compare the suggestibility of sheep with that of tigers and leopards. Since man possesses highly gregarious patterns, his suggestibility is pronounced. Individuals, especially those with many extrovertive tendencies, who live in the presence of others a great deal respond regularly to a great variety of social stimuli and are thus very suggestible.

2. People who live in *warm climates* are more responsive than those in frigid regions. Where life is of the "easy come, easy go" type, suggesti-

¹⁰ *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), Ch. VIII.

¹¹ *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (Luce, 1926), Ch. IV.

¹² *Social Psychology* (Holt, 1923), p. 127.

bility is great. A cold habitat holds the impulses in check; subtropical conditions favor impulsiveness and suggestibility.

3. *Isolated rural* people are less suggestible than crowded urbanites. They develop fewer associative patterns and are less responsive. They solve problems with less aid, and develop a proverbial set against social responsiveness. They have fewer stimuli for changing their behavior than do city people; hence, they are less suggestible.

4. The more *impulsive* persons are the more suggestible. They act more quickly and deliberate less. They think after reacting to suggestions rather than before. Coupled with impulsiveness is quick reaction time. As a rule the persons with fast reaction time are more suggestible than others.

Some impulsive persons have difficulty in developing dependable behavior patterns. Slaves of impulse are more suggestible than the persons who have become habit-frozen. The emotional and sentimental, likewise, are more suggestible than the rational. They respond with less thought. They are unable to command the time element needed to check high suggestibility. They do not take the necessary time for reflection until it is too late. They have a highly suggestible configuration of personality.

5. Similarly, the *nervous* person is more suggestible than the phlegmatic; the temporarily upset, than the normal. Nervousness means low neural control; reflection functions fitfully. Nervousness defeats deliberation; it leads to disintegration. Suggestibility becomes capricious, for even habitual behavior patterns act shakily.

6. Suggestibility varies with *sex*. While the authorities seem to agree that men are less suggestible than women, they are usually men and may be biased. Women have not had as wide a range of experiences as men and have not developed as many sets of behavior patterns. A larger percentage of their native impulses are unorganized. Inasmuch as their experiences have been more limited, they have not been able to exercise as many controls over suggestions as have men.

On the other hand, in times of financial crazes men go wild in speculating with the hard-earned savings of themselves and their wives. Who are more suggestible than men in the minutes when millions are dependent on the ticker? In such cases the wives are often the cooler-headed. Men succumb to the appeal of the gaming table, to hunting impulses, but how many women gamble their money away on pay-night? In other words, when all the evidence is in, it may be that sex will not figure largely in suggestibility differences, but rather the social factors which are outgrowths of differences in conventions, customs, and opportunities.

7. Suggestibility varies with *age*—the young as a rule being the more suggestible. The child and adolescent lack organized knowledge and behavior patterns with which to face suggestions. They are softer wax than persons of experience, travel, and rationalized patterns. Since youth is more exuberant than age it is more impulsive and suggestible.

8. Suggestibility varies with *fatigue*. The fatigue toxins dull the brain neurones and the ability to rationalize. They hamper the accuracy of behavior patterns. Fatigue means less control, less poise, less reserve, more irritability, and more suggestibility. Taken unawares the fatigued person succumbs to many suggestions that otherwise he would challenge.

9. Suggestibility varies with *knowledge*. He who has a large fund of organized experiences and facts to draw upon is armored against irrational suggestions. At least, he knows better, which is half the battle. While a person is not susceptible in that in which he is well informed, he may of course be easily duped in other matters. A college professor versed in Greek roots or in meters or in logarithms may play the fool in buying on margins.

10. Suggestibility depends on *prestige*. We tend to be unusually suggestible in the presence of an intellectual giant or of an international hero. The authority is entitled to be accepted in his own field, but unfortunately many authorities speak on many matters and are accepted by suggestion victims. What the mayor or the bishop says on subjects outside of politics or religion is swallowed whole by the gullible.

11. Suggestibility varies with crowd excitement. In a large crowd a mere individual feels insignificant. He tends to act with the mass rather than to be his normal self. The crowd, being primitive and impulsive excites a person's suggestibility. It defies reason and criticism. All but the most heroic tend to give in to crowd suggestion.

12. Suggestibility varies with *reflectiveness*. If a person develops reflective criticism patterns and habitually scrutinizes every proposal with reference to its probable obstacles and outcomes, his suggestibility index is low. To the degree that reflection enters, suggestion departs.

13. Suggestibility is related to *progressive-mindedness*. The non-suggestible is habit-bound, custom-controlled, static and stubborn. To be open-minded is to listen at least to all suggestions, but to listen to the enticing call of subtle suggestions is often to fall down and worship. Progressiveness, however, is a happy medium between intolerance and blind acceptance of suggestions.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Suggestion is a process of initiating social stimuli.
2. Suggestion depends for its outcome on configuration of personality.
3. A suggestion is a stimulus while suggestion is a process involving a stimulus-response sequence.
4. Direct suggestion is a process whereby a person responds uncritically to an openly-made stimulus.
5. Indirect suggestion implies a stimulus that operates flankwise.
6. Indirect suggestion is subtle and often used harmfully as well as helpfully, particularly by advertisers and salesmen.
7. Flattery is a shrewd form of indirect suggestion.
8. Slogans are often clever indirect suggestions.
9. Immediate suggestion involves prompt response.
10. Counter suggestion is a process where the stimulus is responded to negatively.
11. Mediate suggestion includes delayed and modified responses.
12. Auto-suggestion is a process in which a person responds to a stimulus developing within him.
13. Group suggestion is a process whereby a social group instead of individuals is the source of stimuli.
14. Imitation, a too-inclusive, too-superficial term to be of scientific value, involves the operation of many factors, such as natural response, established behavior patterns, status, urge for response, uniqueness traits.
15. Suggestion varies according to the imputed superiority of itself or of its source.
16. Suggestion varies according to the social distance of the parties concerned.
17. Suggestibility varies according to gregariousness, climatic conditions, isolation, impulsiveness, nervous state, sex, age, fatigue, knowledge, prestige, reflectiveness, progressiveness.
18. Suggestion may be used as a process of social control.

PROBLEMS

1. Why are you suggestible?
2. In what particulars are you least suggestible?
3. Indicate ways in which you are most suggestible.
4. What is the relation of muscle-reading to so-called mind-reading?
5. Why does your throat "ache after listening to a speaker who forms his voice badly"?
6. Why is it safer "on meeting a formidable animal in the tall grass of Africa to stand than to run"?
7. Is a person suggestible when asleep?
8. Is an underfed person more suggestible than a well-fed person?
9. What rule may a novice follow in driving a nail in order to avoid hitting his thumb?
10. What is the suggestion in the politician's slogan: "Let us pass prosperity around"?
11. What difference does it make whether clerks ask, "Shall we send the package?" or, "Shall we send the package, or will you take it with you?"

12. How is flattery a form of indirect suggestion?
13. Cite a billboard advertisement using indirect suggestion, and explain.
14. What suggestion does a "brass-trimmed, marble-faced mahogany-upholstered bank" make to an immigrant from South Europe?
15. What suggestion does a \$6,000 limousine make to the average honest but poor man?
16. What suggestion is made by a dentist's sign which shows a large tooth deeply imbedded in the gums?
17. What do the extravagant dresses of the wife or daughter of a lawyer suggest to the client?
18. Why can one easily walk an 8-inch plank that lies on the ground, but not one which extends across a deep chasm?
19. What is the danger in talks "on sex hygiene before the segregated pupils of the public schools"?
20. How do you account for the moral influence of certain teachers, and the lack of it in others who are equally well-intentioned?
21. How do you explain "the deadliness of the innuendo"?
22. Why is faint praise "more damaging than downright depreciation"?
23. Explain the suggestion in the statement; "He protests too much."
24. Why is it usually true that the best way to get the offer of a coveted position is not to seem too anxious for it?
25. What is (a) the direct suggestion and (b) the indirect suggestion in a motion picture showing a crime being committed with the criminal ultimately being caught?
26. Compare from the standpoint of suggestion (a) a spacious sales room for a bargain sale, (b) a small sales room of bargains, and (c) a narrow runway leading from the elevator to a good-sized room of bargains.

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CHAPTER XX

FASHION

FASHION is adopting the new. The fashionable includes new ideas, procedures, and objects. If the new has merit, it will be widely adopted and become a custom or tradition. As soon as the new is extensively and repeatedly adopted it is no longer fashionable; it has become customary or traditional. Fashion is a process of trying out the new; it is an expensive process, for so much that is new is trash.

Fashion is widely applicable—all the way from miniature golf courses to styles of dress or philosophic and scientific theories. Many things new become fashionable, at least to a small degree, but only those items are accepted which are in line with the prevailing patterns or which satisfy longings. All else new is soon "laughed down."

THE FASHION PROCESS

Fashion has been defined as "a recurring change in choices," which means that much that is now fashionable has already been fashionable once before. People forget, and in later years adopt what shows up again. The fashionable in dress, for example, is often due to recurring choices. Now dress sleeves are long; to-morrow, they will be short or absent; day after to-morrow, long. E. A. Ross vividly describes what happens: "Could we run the successive fashions of woman's hat or sleeve or skirt during a century through a biograph rapidly, what a systole or diastole we should see, an alternating dilation and contraction like the panting of some queer animal."¹

When a new departure is originated or an old one revived, it constitutes a stimulus or suggestion—it might be called fashion suggestion. By its newness it attracts attention and arouses responses to adopt it. Many factors favor or defeat its extensive adoption. If important people adopt it, its popular momentum is assured. But its momentum makes it common, no longer new, and it is defeated. Public attention quickly shifts.

Fashion as a process is objectively discernible as a current of behavior. It sweeps down out of the unheralded and draws into its path a host of

¹ E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), p. 94.

the susceptible. It passes by almost as quickly as it came, leaving its subjects the victims of new behavior currents.

The fashion process is a pace-setting affair.² The designer sets the patterns, which are widely heralded even before the manufacturer can turn them out. At the earliest possible moments they are promptly adopted by the ultra-devotees of fashion. These pace-setters lead off with a new style; would-be pace-setters immediately follow, in order to secure an enhanced status. Then others copy, in order not to be frumps. Others belatedly and conservatively adopt, in order not to attract adverse glances and to be set down as "back numbers." A few never adopt, and the rest point the finger of scorn at them and call them "hayseeds." In a way they show the greatest independence of all, even more than those who precipitate a new style in order to be different.

As soon as the mode has perceptibly descended the social scale, its promoters dash off a new style. The pace-setters snatch up the latest, and rush off anew. The followers and would-be pace-setters hotly pursue them, while the latter wildly cast about for something newer, in order to sidestep the pursuers. This process with its insane and wasteful proportions, E. A. Ross has called "social racing," although perhaps "fashion racing" would be more specific.

It is not difficult to perceive how the high cost of living is partly due to fashion racing. Many articles are purchased not because they are needed or are beautiful, but because friends have made these purchases already and because the irrational rule prevails that one must keep up with his neighbors, or even outdo them. Status factors reign, even over the economic. If we succeed in outdoing our neighbors in any way, then they come back with something superior. They and we are both guilty of an endless steeple chase that leads directly to extravagance. Fashion racing unduly accentuates fashion.

ORIGINS OF FASHION CURRENTS

Fashion currents may be diagnosed in terms of their origins. 1. The human urge for adventure and new experience is basic to fashion. People tire of the old and crave the new. Among Western peoples the urge for new experience has had leeway. Eastern peoples have been hampered by adverse traditions, but developments in recent years in Japan and elsewhere in the Orient indicate that the East is not immune. Human nature tires easily, and attention wanders from the oft-repeated and the old.

² E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), pp. 99, 103.

Attention is ever on the lookout for the new. The old is dull; the new, exciting, inviting, interesting, stimulating. Even the new when repeated many times grows monotonous, and something newer is sought. No matter how stunning a garb may be, it soon ceases to stimulate and is forsaken for something more stunning or stunning in a different way. Thus, fashion thrives on human nature at its most vulnerable point.

Among custom-ruled peoples, the new gains a foothold with difficulty, but where fashion dominates, the new bedazzles. Special groups of people become fashion devotees, slaves to fashion, fashion-minded. They live in the fashion margins of life. The "very latest" is deemed "the best"; fads reign, and faddists acquire status. The new when desired greatly but "cornered" by a few creates excitement and crazes gain cyclonic power.

(a) The spectacular awakens attention. Brilliancy, high lights, flash and flame against the skylines of life, oratorical fireworks—these are allies of fashion, for they catch the eyes and ears of multitudes. When the ermine cloak or the plumed hat passes down the aisle there is "a craning of necks and a wagging of tongues." While fashion based on the spectacular dies out almost at birth it enjoys a tremendous flare for the fleeting moment.

(b) The excitement which fashion often generates, paralyzes critical powers and releases the inborn impulses to act irrationally. If a furore can be created about the new, a large following rushes after it. Thus, a large part of modern advertising creates furores, but such efforts easily defeat themselves. As a result furores are being created with increasing subtlety and finesse. Among crowded urbanites, already speeded emotionally, excitement easily becomes devastating.

2. Status gives fashion vitality. The rumor that the "best" people or that the mythical "they" are wearing a certain style this season, gives fashion a powerful impetus. Many fashions live for a time because of the resultant status.

To be out of fashion is to lose status. Large numbers remonstrate against a new fashion, but presently they fall in line—rather than be ridiculed for standing out. Ridicule undermines status. "One might as well be dead, as out of fashion," and hence fear of figuring as "dowdy" whips one into line with foolish fashions. The responses of many women of common sense to the nonsensical in the rapidly changing styles of dress can best be explained in terms of the necessity for status.

Status, of course, can be obtained by bowing to the nonsensical only when one's social group holds to nonsensical values. If the group is dis-

criminating and turns a cold shoulder to the foolish, then one may maintain status without becoming ridiculous.

(a) The impulses to differentiate one's self from others account in part for fashion. Everyone seeks to maintain and to deepen certain differences between himself and others, between his coteries and other groups. This tendency to give one's self an individual stamp is a search for status. It runs riot in the field of fashion. No one wishes to be considered average or mediocre. No one wishes to be taken for someone of lower rank. No one likes to have his name misspelled or mispronounced. Each wants his individuality maintained or augmented. Fashion is called to the rescue.

Fashion often gives special status. A shrewd observer has remarked that it is feathers which set off peacocks, turkeys, and pheasants from one another. Without the differentiating feathers, these birds would look pretty much alike. A fashion devotee looks down on the non-conformer. Rarely does either adopter or observer distinguish between valuable and futile fashions.

Fashion separates and segregates. Fashion inequalities often set the spirit of democracy at naught, especially when status is determined by one's ability to waste money on non-essentials. Although fashion develops *camaraderie* among its devotees, it also creates jealousies. To secure status by catering unduly to fashion is to neglect many of the finer social values.

On the other hand, by adopting certain fashions the lower classes boost themselves upward into the "higher" strata. Fashion thus levels up, and in a way democratizes. Even subject people, through fashion adoption, rise toward the levels of their rulers. Fashion also pulls down. Adopting the cheap and gaudy puts social imbeciles from the wealthy and poorer classes on the same level.

3. The urge to be free promotes fashion. Many people cannot bear to be chained,—so they flit from the new to the newer and newest. Every new political party cries: "Free yourself from the bosses." Every new religious movement sounds the invitation: "Throw off the yoke of dogma." Economic panaceas fling out the invitation: "Be rid of the slavery to the industrial master classes." So strong is the summons to freedom that people rush headlong to this or that fashion. The seductive call to be free from old gyves causes people to overlook the yokes which may be hidden in the new.

(a) The urge to be free is sometimes coupled with the spirit of progress. Fashion promotes progress. The urge for freedom thus blends with

fashion. There is a mutuality here, for fashion can flourish only where the spirit of progress thrives. It is only in a dynamic society that fashion has full sway.

Progressiveness is willingness *to take chances* with a new idea or method. It expects that much of the new will prove useless, but in order to discover the worth while, it takes broad risks. After it has had its fingers burned, however, it does not stick them in the fire again and again. Migration may create progressiveness. In old countries people become encysted in the old, but in migrating much of the old proves a load; the merits of the new are seen and appreciated.

A progressive society makes fashion possible, and in return fashion contributes occasionally to progress. At first the fashion label is put on both the meritorious and the useless, but the latter lives a short day and withers, while merit survives and is honored by a place in culture.

4. Commercialism "plays up" fashion. Certain people make it a business to create new things that will appeal and be bought, whether meritorious or not. The designer of new fashions in clothes has achieved a professional as well as an international status. He must understand human nature, art, indirect suggestion. His art, however, is too often sacrificed to Mammon, and he uses his social psychology to take advantage of human nature as well as to develop it. Before one style has triumphed, a supplanter is being designed. The designer is largely the slave of the promoter; instead of designing more and more beautiful things he is forced to create the novel.

(a) Other fashion promoters are those who employ the designers and who create wants, both true and false. These professional promoters, the "style show" experts, the advertisers, and the merchants devise ways to launch new fashions irrespective of lasting worth. Many advertisements create a wasteful, expensive, and competitive consumption of goods.³ Fashion shows stimulate many to buy beyond their means, they create unsatisfied and unsatisfiable wants among the fortunate; they make the poorer people restless, frantic, incensed. In this way our walking fashion plates arouse the spirit of Bolshevism in the land. Wherever it is worn a three-thousand dollar fur coat breeds jealousy and social unrest.

The European women's wear convention, held in August, 1922, illustrates how fashion-racing women or bill-paying husbands are victimized by promoters of fashion.⁴ At the convention it was decreed that fashions

³ See Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Macmillan, 1912), Ch. IV.

⁴ *New Republic*, Aug. 16, 1922.

were to change—in order to keep women buying. “Skirts were to be long; very long. Skirts were to be full; very full. Skirts were to be draped. Waists were to be fitted, to contrast with the billowing below.” Three vehicles of dress publicity were to turn the trick of making women surrender to the promoters’ dictates. (1) Shop windows and dress shows were exploited; flaring, flaunting flower-beds of skirts were displayed in windows and charming manikins went “mincing down the platform in pointed layers of purple and scarlet chiffon.” (2) The theatrical stage, costumed by the leading modistes, was well swept by trains and dragging sashes. (3) Home magazines, presumably devoted to women’s interests, fell into the net to conjure woman to buy that “in which she looked a guy and sometimes a fright.”

The professional promoter of fashion must succeed in creating an atmosphere of expectancy and of favorable anticipation among the people who can afford to buy and those just below. For these reasons the promoter uses serial and accumulative advertisements, fashion shows, manikins, women’s magazines, theatrical stages. In consequence, the unsuspecting victims begin a campaign of talk and of publicity, and help to create a demand for much that is useless. The game yields large revenue for a few at the expense of the many.

The promoters become good guessers. They guess what their publics are tiring of and what they will “fall for.” They run wide risks.⁵ Precariousness rules, for designs must be made months in advance, for not all fashion lovers are dumb, driven cattle, for many of them respect the limits of decency, for many, on the other hand, are fickle and do the unexpected. The promoters must know the configurations of the personalities upon which they depend.

THE FAD

The fad is a novelty that appeals. It presupposes fashion rule and some connection between the novelty and unsatisfied personal urges. Fads extend, for example, in the United States from extreme dress styles to dachshunds and philosophies and religions. Fads invade every phase of life, although most easily the realm of wearing apparel.

For the past sixteen years the writer has asked on the average about 150 persons annually to coöperate in selecting the leading fads prevailing each year. Each of these persons has had some knowledge of social

⁵ Cf. Hazel Kyrk, *A Theory of Consumption* (Houghton Mifflin, 1923), p. 110; also P. T. Cherrington, *The Wool Industry* (A. W. Shaw, 1916), pp. 7, 153ff.

psychology. Each has had a youthful point of view, not unsympathetic; each has had some breadth of observation. A considerable range of occupations has been represented.

Each person was asked to select five leading fads—at the particular time and place. First-hand observation was a leading test. Before each person made out his list, he was asked to make choices as representative as possible, and not to confine them to one field. Of the total number of fads reported, all were discarded from the annual lists except those cited by at least five persons, which left a total of 1281 different fads to be considered. The 1281 fads receiving five votes or more were classified, with the result that nearly everyone fell into one of seven main fields.

Table I. Classification of Fads: 1914-1931

	Nos.	Per Cent
Women's dress and decoration	721	56.2
Men's dress and decoration	220	17.0
Amusements and recreation	104	8.1
Automobiles	62	4.8
"Slanguage"	49	3.7
Architecture	22	1.7
Education	21	1.6
Unclassified	82	1.4
	<hr/> 1281	<hr/> 100.0

The table indicates that matters of dress and personal decoration predominate. Amusements come next. Automobile styles, especially accessories, rank fourth. "Slanguage," architectural, and educational fads follow in order. A comparison of lists of the facts year by year shows changes here and there, but no great variations, except that automobile fads have moved up the list, but this is to be expected in view of the increased place that the automobile plays in recreation. A further analysis of the data shows that (1) most fads relate to the superficial, the ornamental, to accessories, to gew-gaws. Table II illustrates the point.

Table II. Prominent but Superficial Fads

Making whoopee	Phrase: "Ain't we got fun."
Flea-hop dance	"And how."
Marathon dancing	"Oh yeah."
Shanghai shuffle	"Burn up."
Varsity drag	"She stops traffic."
Black bottom	Nose veils
King Tut trinkets	Split sleeves at shoulders
Eye-lash curlers	Fake moles
Feathers on men's hats	Party pajamas

2. Approximately 80 per cent of the total fads appear in only one year's lists, indicating that the life of most fads as outstanding fads is less than a year. For eleven of the sixteen years lists of fads have been secured twice a year—usually in April and November. About 60 per cent receiving five votes or more in any semi-annual list do not receive that number again, which seems to show that most fads are in the limelight less than six months. Of course, some drag on for a much longer period. A few become permanent by being absorbed culturally.

3. In three of the sixteen years, lists of prevailing fads were obtained in April, August, and November. Forty-five per cent of the April lists received five votes or more in the August lists, and thirty-eight per cent of the August lists appeared in the November classification, denoting that many fads are prominent for three months or less. For example, at one time during the European War before the United States entered, the carrying of kewpies upon automobiles was common; a few months later they were displaced by the American flag, and then by allied flags. Similarly, Charlie Chaplin fads passed over the country, rivalled only by Mary Pickford curls, and by Ford jokes. In 1930, the miniature golf course began a scintillating life.

4. A fad curve is also discernible. It usually shows a rapid incline or quick adoption after it once gets under way, a plateau or extreme popularity of two or three months, and then a decline, dropping suddenly but sometimes prolonged. Where a fad has real merit or has connections with universal interests, its plateau is greatly prolonged, or at least it only partially declines, for it is being incorporated into the accepted culture.

5. A small percentage, not more than two perhaps, appear in three successive annual lists. Since nearly all of these have definite utility, they are generally adopted. They survive the whirlpool of fashion and are added to "progress." Table III gives samples.

Table III. Fads That Have Survived

Men's wrist watches	"Stop" signs on autos
Tonneau windshields	Bobbed hair
Home radio sets	Tortoise shell rims

6. Fads sometimes cluster. They polarize. For example, the "King Tut" fads included King Tut dresses, waists, cafés, interior house decorations, and many kinds of trinkets. "Liberty" fads included "liberty boy," "liberty bond," "liberty fair," "liberty parade," "liberty steak," "liberty sandwich." The point of polarization is usually a person or object of wide-

spread interest. The clustering tends to prolong the fad plateau longer than is usual.

7. Fads thrive because of a preponderant opinion favoring the new. Where the old is worshipped, fads cannot get up momentum. The automobile is an object of universal interest in the United States and hence automobile fads easily maintain the limelight. Wearing apparel is standardized in old China and dress fads do not get a chance. Fads as a class flourish where "novelty is next to Godliness."

8. Fads give status among those who worship the new. Adopting a fad is a quick spectacular way to obtain the attention of one's fellows. A fad dazzles. Some people mistake it for a flash of greatness. It attracts rivalrous glances, and makes its zealot the center of exclamatory remarks. By adopting one fad after another a person can keep himself an object of superficial attention. His personal growth is probably thereby hindered. The harvest of unstable behavior patterns is limitless; the waste, incalculable.

9. Instability is fostered and artistic judgment hampered. The kaleidoscopic changes in superficialities of life that fads represent, give their devotees little opportunity to appreciate the truly beautiful or worthy. Unstable, quick-changing, superficial patterns are produced. It is doubtful whether the chronic exponent of fashion discriminates regarding true progress.

FASHION IN DRESS

It is evident that not only fads but other fashions center in dress. Hence, special attention will be given to the social psychology of dress. The origins of dress will be considered first, and then special social factors.

Protection from cold, heat, or moisture is the primary need which clothing serves, but because of its prominence with reference to the person it has acquired many socially-born characteristics. As passive adaptation to environment among animals resulted in the growth of feather, fur, or other protective covering, so active adaptation among human beings has modified the protective covering of clothing into many distortions.

Adornment is another clothing feature. Sex differentiation, for example, in the feathers of birds illustrates adornment. Since the female bird chooses her mate, the male with the most beautiful plumage and the best voice, often the best singing voice, is likely to be chosen.⁶ Males without re-

⁶ George E. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1904), I: 204-208.

splendence enjoy less chance of sex selection and fail to reproduce their kind; their strain dies out.

On the lower human levels clothing serves the same two purposes as among the higher animals—protection and sex ornamentation. The want of feathers and fur leads to clothing made from the skins and furs of animals and from fibrous plants. Feathers are artificially used for sex and status ornamentation. The male, who is chosen by the female, resorts to all sorts of ingenious, even painful, devices in order to increase his attractiveness. Ornamental scars are made upon the dark-skinned body. With the light-skinned early peoples of the temperate zones scarification, not easily discernible, is displaced by tattooing. Indigoes and similar dark substances are used to make permanent ornamentations upon the white skin. Ornamental purposes are further served by attaching rings through perforations to the ears, nose, lips, and by fastening them around the arms and ankles. Fantastic forms of male hair dress develop and beads of all colors are used to enhance bodily beauty or to conceal ugliness.

With the development of clothing for protective and ornamental purposes a third important element appeared—*modesty*. Ornamental clothing often tended, and still does, to produce sex stimulation. In consequence, clothing not only caused modesty, but modesty in clothing acquired a tangible status. Three purposes thus are served by clothing, which probably developed in the following order—protection, ornamentation (chiefly on sex planes), and modesty.

With the rise of wife capture, the warrior states, and the patriarchal family, man becomes the wooer and woman the wooed. When woman was sought by male courting and when her restricted sphere of routine work led her to seek variation, she concentrated attention on her clothing not primarily for protection or modesty, but for ornamentation. The more beautiful she could appear, the greater her chances of attracting the competitive glances of suitors. Consequently, woman has often assumed a heavy load of sex ornamentation. This burden has weighed her down, wasted her time, and hindered her mental progress greatly.

Among the hereditary leisure classes husbands sometimes encourage their wives and daughters to dress luxuriously for mere display purposes. By such conspicuous and wasteful consumption of economic goods, husbands and parents are enabled to advertise their wealth,⁷ or to maintain status. Thereby women are unwisely encouraged to stress ornamentation at the expense of protection and modesty. Among certain classes, it is asserted that man has made woman a clay figure and

⁷ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Macmillan, 1912), Ch. IV.

kept her in a castle. She "has fallen for" display, to such a degree that protection and modesty are sometimes subordinated to the flaunting of sex and physical attributes.

So extensively have women of the idle classes worshipped dress (ornament) as distinguished from clothing (protection and modesty), that some women find their supreme enjoyment in parading their gorgeousness of attire. At an afternoon gathering of leisure-class women, each subtly observes how the others are gowned. No detail escapes the eager, eagle eyes of these worshippers at the shrine of fashion.

At a men's club, on the other hand, garb is rarely interesting, while more objective matters, such as business, politics, or sport, engage the attention. Still, men have not entirely escaped from the rule of the days when they were the ornamented sex. Kings and courtiers still dress in splendid regalia. The Scotch kilt is a survival of early male embellishments. Members of large fraternal orders indulge periodically in reversions to exhibitions of the gorgeous plumage of the primitive male. On such occasions the individual efforts are outdone by massed formations of self-glorified men.

FASHION PROBLEMS

Present fashions in dress raise several distinct problems. 1. Economic costs are serious when there is so much demand for expensive materials, when there must be a new gown for every formal occasion, and when styles dart from one extreme to another. The cost of a fashionable woman is almost beyond calculation. It has been said that a marriage proposal means much more to-day when a spring or fall hat costs twenty dollars, than formerly when a young wife wore on her head a shawl which she had made herself and which would last several years.

2. Fashion's mandates enslave women. Women are often nonplussed by the search for that which is at once stylish and becoming. Continued attention to the dress forms and details consume annually immense quantities of energy—enough perhaps to run a League of Nations successfully for a millennium.

3. The rapid shifts and reversals in styles shunt aside a worthy style before it has a chance to be really appreciated. The status that comes from wearing the "latest," prevents people from appreciating the truly beautiful. If the struggle were for increasingly beautiful clothing, the results would justify the efforts, but under commercialization there is no constant gain from year to year in the beauty of dress.

4. The extremes in dress verge on the immodest. It is these extremes

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which attract exotic attention, and which discredit the sex of the devotees. Newspapers, theaters, the motion pictures, and the billboard advertisers exaggerate the extremes until modesty gives way to animalism.

5. Fashion creates illusions. It fosters status "by creating illusions, of size, wealth, success, age, authority."⁸ Its activities are often limited to ringing simple changes upon a few notes. Its shrewdness in appealing to vanity deludes its subjects.

6. Efforts to establish a Dress Reform League have never been successful. While efforts against the tyrannies of fashion are needed, attempts of this order have proved futile. Leaders in dress reform have imposed a few mannish patterns upon women, instead of appealing to the beautiful and the womanly. The business woman and the athletic woman have made progress, but each has hurt the cause—the former sometimes by her manishness and the latter by her slouchiness, and both by their disregard for the beautiful.

7. Fashion styles in the United States seem to be whirling faster than ever. The pace is hotter owing to better communication, to the spread of a "hustle" civilization, to the inexpensive method of counterfeiting the worthy. Held up by the World War, pent-up fashion leaped forward at the close. A buyer for a well-known American dry goods house reported to the writer in 1919 that he was unable to buy "expensive, extravagant, and wasteful enough goods" to meet the demands of the store's wealthy patrons. The pace presumably had been set partly by the 18,000 new millionaires which were alleged to have been made in the United States during the World War.

8. Opposition to fashion tyranny is growing, but slowly. It is unpopular. There are increasing numbers of people who are resentful of fashion's absurdities. Many submit protestingly. Others quietly do not conform except belatedly and moderately. Others will not sacrifice personality to poor style; they at least try to combine personality and the most beautiful in styles. They are the progressive in spirit, sane in judgment, and noted for their good taste.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Fashion is a new or revived choice in behavior adopted for a brief time by a minority.
2. Urges for new experience and for status prompt to fashion; reputability promotes it; fear of social disapproval drives people to it; desire to be different multiplies it.
3. Commercialism exercises almost arbitrary control over fashion.

⁸ June E. Downey, *Plots and Personalities* (Century, 1923), p. 70.

4. The fashion process easily degenerates into fashion racing with pace-setters trying continually to elude the pace-followers.
5. Fashion flourishes most in dress, ornamentation, and amusements.
6. Fashion plays a leading rôle in sex differentiation and selection.
7. Fads are fashions that appeal because of special novelty.
8. Fashion creates problems of economic waste, personality enslavement, immodesty.

PROBLEMS

1. What is fashion?
2. How is "fashion" different from "a fashion"?
3. Why is the new a basis of fashion?
4. What is the relation of fashion to progress?
5. How does reputability aid fashion?
6. How does status affect fashion?
7. Illustrate "fashion racing."
8. Illustrate the difference between fashion and a fad.
9. Is the cash register fashionable?
10. Is it true that nothing is fashionable until it be "deformed"?
11. Does extensive fashion racing refine or debase one's tastes?
12. Do you agree that any particular fashion "can never be generally in vogue"?
13. How do you account for the fact that fashions tend to the extreme?
14. Why has Paris been the center from which new fashions in woman's dress have emanated?
15. Why has London played a somewhat similar rôle for men's fashions in dress?
16. Why are things often reckoned beautiful in proportion to their cost?
17. Why is a garment often considered beautiful when in style and unsightly when out of style?
18. Who are the more subject to fashion caprices: the feeling-swayed, or the reason-governed, and why?
19. Explain: "One might as well be dead as out of fashion."
20. Why is the high gloss of a gentleman's high hat considered more beautiful than a similar high gloss on a threadbare sleeve?
21. Who are more responsible for fashion absurdities, the women who wear them or the men who are pleased by them?
22. Do women give particular attention to dress in order to please themselves, other women, or the men.
23. Contrast the different purposes of men's dress suits and of overall suits?
24. Who are to be blamed the more for the waste of fashion, the consumers racing for distinction or the merchants and manufacturers racing for profits?
25. To whom are fashion shows greater benefit, the merchant or the consumer?
26. How would you explain the fact that there is less rivalry in consumption of goods "among farmers than among people of corresponding means in the city"?
27. Why is it easier to save money in the country than in the city?
28. Is it true that the standard of living rises so rapidly with every increase in prosperity "that there is scarcely any let-up in the economic strain"?
29. What are the leading fads in your community at the present time?
30. What are the leading values in fashion?

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CHAPTER XXI

CUSTOM AND CONVENTION

CUSTOM is the handing down of social values from generation to generation. *Customs* are handed down ways of *doing* and *traditions* are handed down ways of *believing*. The passing along from generation to generation of ways of doing and of believing is the custom process.

Custom is more indirect than fashion. It begins to function in childhood, while fashion begins its work in adolescence and early maturity. Custom is more subtle, more far-reaching, more binding, longer-lived by far, more deep-seated.

TECHNIQUES OF CUSTOM

Custom has its strength in behavior patterns. In homes, schools, churches, play groups customs become established in patterns of action, and survive.

By being born into a culture, a little child acquires culture patterns before he is old enough to discriminate. Blindly he accepts these patterns. By the time he develops critical attitudes many habitual reactions have become established in behavior patterns.

Customs are the collective patterns into which much individual activity weaves itself.¹ Customs give trends to human thinking and choosing. They furnish the basic patterns for religious, economic, political, and other thinking. Equally important with the problem of how persons make customs is the problem of how "different customs, established interacting arrangements, form and mature different minds."

Most of the political ideas of a youth have been those of preceding generations. If his parents were staunch Republicans or Democrats, he is likely to become the same. In religion the ordinary child in a devout Baptist family in the South, in a Roman Catholic family in Italy, in a Hebrew family in Russia, or in a Buddhist family in Japan feels and thinks as his parents, whose religious reactions in turn have come from *their* parents. Customs are powerful because of their tendency to repeat themselves in behavior patterns from generation to generation.

¹ John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), pp. 62, 75, 122.

Unskilled laborers in India who were accustomed to carry all loads on their heads were furnished with wheelbarrows and shown how to use them, but they refused to follow instructions. They persisted in carrying the loaded wheelbarrows on their heads, so enslaved were they by custom and habits. The new method of pushing wheelbarrows was ludicrous to them, so deeply accustomed were they to another method.

As a person grows old he relies more and more upon past thinking. What he has once settled, he tends to abide by. To think new ideas is an effort. To work through a complicated process requires courage, so that when once a decision has been reached a person allows it to stand even though it has aged. So an idea may continue accepted long after its usefulness is passed. Current attitudes are often the products of decisions made twenty or forty years ago by the given person. As a person grows older, he is more likely to rest content with past decisions, more loath to reopen old questions. He does not easily take up again the question of what religious faith to ally himself with, what nation he will live in, what occupation he will pursue. Thus, customs acquired in childhood, youth, and maturity, secure much of their support from elderly people. They are tenacious.

As persons mature they are mentally less energetic; they lose initiative; they are fonder of reminiscences than of new undertakings. The old is accepted reluctantly as "good enough," which means "as good as one can get."

Age *does not need* to become conservative; as one grows old he may maintain patterns of inquiry, of looking forward, or welcoming the new when it appears on the horizon. A group may also discriminate between its liberal-minded mature people and its mossbacks, and progress best by keeping age in control. A liberal mature person is one who combines experience in a "golden mean." He or she may be a better leader than a person filled with the zeal and the rashness of youth. Such a leader conserves the best in the old, encourages the new, and modifies the past to meet the future.

Customs embody the content and spirit of the past. Because they carry the judgments of ancient seers and prophets, and represent the convictions of the past, they acquire powerful sanctions.² They are "the age old modes of thought and action expressive of the historic spirit of the group."

Custom thrives best where intercommunity, interregional contacts are few. In *isolation*, customs have little competition and rule rigidly. Isolation

² Cf. W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Ginn, 1907); also Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage* (Yale Univ. Press, 1921).

debars persons from new and varied social stimuli; it gives the past full sway.

FIVE CITADELS OF CUSTOM

Customs are maintained in the following five carefully guarded and age-old citadels: (1) language, (2) law, (3) religion, (4) ritual, (5) prejudice.

1. Our *language* is received so early in life that we find it a part of ourselves by the time we do much critical thinking. Fundamental speech patterns are fixed in the pre-thinking years, and shape thought. They cannot easily be uprooted. Our mother tongue is composed of thousands of words, each one, in the thought of C. H. Cooley, a little boat that comes floating down from the past, many of them from a hundred thousand years or so ago, laden with hidden meanings.³

2. *Law* stands for a consensus of group judgment. Time must elapse before the facts in a given instance can be learned, before legislation can be enacted, before the courts pass on the constitutionality of new laws; hence statutes lag behind the times. Moreover, if a law is adopted by a close vote, or if the minority be especially powerful, then it may be widely violated.

Law attempts to standardize behavior. In so doing it becomes formal, fixed, conventionalized. It deals with overt acts which often belie the spirit behind them. Law cannot easily regulate attitudes. In controlling overt behavior it becomes encysted in change-resisting forms.

Law gets its meaning in group sanction, and in a fear of losing status. Physical incarceration alone as a rule results in resentment rather than in respect. How can one get around the law rather than how can one develop the law, is a common reaction. Law is viewed as crystallized rather than as growing.

3. *Religion* often consists of dogmas that are not to be challenged or even examined; they are to be swallowed whole. Religion operates in the realm of faith; it does not invite testing. The supernatural in religion arouses fear, awe, respect. Religion is often imbedded in the feelings and sentiments. Since religious beliefs are taught to children in their uncritical years, religion is a bulwark of custom, resisting change.

4. *Ritual* not only underlies language, law, and religion, but everything that pertains to the social order. A ritual in any field reflects human experiences reduced to their common, tangible, and succinct forms. It may carry strong social aspirations that are put in suppliant form, such as the Lord's Prayer.

³ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organisation* (Scribner's, 1909), p. 69.

Ritual is usually performed as a group affair. Something valuable is sought. Pledging allegiance to the flag, singing certain hymns over and over, repeating the Apostles' Creed, initiating new members in a fraternity—all these are group exercises in which customs are passed along or re-enforced.⁴

The ritual survives because it is a symbol of group values. It often maintains these values long after they have lost their meanings. Its original content disappears, but the form is continued. It tends to become "a mere mumbling" of words repeated mechanically, but as long as this exercise is accompanied by a feeling of satisfaction because one has done his duty or been true to his past self, it survives. Not without a pang can one give up a ritual that has once had a rich feeling content for him.

Rituals as carriers of customs do finally succumb to change. Witness the modifications now going on in religious ritual, the rise of "a social creed" of the churches, the new wording of marriage ceremonies, and so on. Changes occur slowly, unevenly, sometimes after it is too late to save the real values involved.

RATIONAL AND IRRATIONAL CUSTOM

Customs may be old and yet have remained rational. They may have persisted long after conditions have changed and grown irrational. A custom is rational or irrational depending whether needs and conditions have changed.

Rational Customs. Custom is entirely rational when it saves the best of the past from the jaws of time. It props up law and order. It is the foundation upon which the future can be built. It sustains each succeeding generation until they can advance with their own momentum. It furnishes the materials from which inventions spring. It is the basis of progress.

Custom is rational in that it furthers socialization. By adopting the same customs the members of a group have begun to act together.⁵ They are also acting in harmony with preceding generations, and are inadvertently giving recognition of group values.

Irrational Customs. Customs grow irrational. Appropriate for a given time, place, and situation, they become eventually out of date and place. It is becoming antiquated that makes most customs irrational. Because the Ptolemaic theory survived long after scientific knowledge ceased to

⁴ Cf. F. G. Henke, *A Study in the Psychology of Ritualism* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1910).

⁵ I. Edman, *Human Traits* (Houghton Mifflin, 1920), p. 419.

justify it, it became irrational. Since the common communion cup survived after bacteriological knowledge pronounced it dangerous, it is irrational. Customs and traditions survive long after the stalks on which they grew have withered.

A written constitution may be well suited to its day, but becomes in some ways a hindrance under the changed social conditions of later centuries. Persons have endowed worthy purposes, but conditions have changed, and wills grow out of date. Since such bequests cannot be changed after the giver has died, they become irrational. Perpetual endowments for teaching children to card, spin, and knit, worthy at the time, became useless when carding and the like were supplanted by machinery. The custom of keeping windows closed tightly in the days when houses were poorly built and when the wind blew in under the rafters and through the chinks *was* rational, but is not so after houses are better built. Political autocracy was justified when 99 per cent of a people were illiterate, but becomes irrational when people are educated and thoughtful.

The long summer school vacation seems to have originated in the days when children were kept at home to help care for the crops. But the long vacation was carried over into urban school systems and hundreds of thousands of children are turned loose to run unsupervised on congested city streets, to play without direction in dark hallways and dirty alleys or to waste themselves in idleness and mischievousness for two or three months annually. "Although half of us are urban, every June we close the schools of our cities and turn millions of children into the streets—to hoe corn and bug potatoes."⁶

Slavery was a boon when it originated, for it spared the lives of war captives who would otherwise have been killed. It persisted, however, into the days of free labor and democracy, being given, for example, both legal and religious sanction in the slave-holding states of the South.

Many sharp cracks are taken at some of the irrational customs that have developed in the governmental system in the United States. The custom of electing a person to Congress in November and then of allowing him to wait until a year from the following December before he begins to serve (unless a special session is called) is a good example of an irrational custom in a day when speed is the watch-word and pride of the American people. Notice the following remarks by a well-known American humorist.

Both political sides are arguing over who will control Congress. With this cockeyed system we have, where you are selected one year and take office

⁶ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1920), first edit., p. 501.

a year and a half from then, why it simply comes down to "who will be living then."

Now in December Congress meets, but that's not the ones that were elected: that's the ones that were defeated. If you are defeated you stay in Congress and if you are elected you stay out. The only way to get a man in Congress is to elect a young man who looks like he will live till he is seated.⁷

Custom is irrational for it forms crusts over social life, religious crusts, economic crusts, political crusts. The people beneath can break through only with difficulty. Sometimes they can be released only by means of a violent upheaval.

CONVENTION VERSUS CUSTOM

Sometimes *custom* and *convention* are used interchangeably; sometimes they overlap greatly. Despite these facts, important distinctions can be made.⁸ (1) Convention refers to promoting the form of an idea or act; custom, to continuing the content. (2) On the whole, convention being more formal is less rational than custom. (3) Convention generates more superficial talk than does custom, especially among people who worship manners.⁹ (4) Convention ordinarily continues longer than custom; the skeleton survives after the spirit has departed.

Conventions and customs, however, are more alike than different. Both are non-competitive, both are expressions of the past, both are inculcated chiefly in the early, immature years. Since conventions relate to the formal phases of life and customs to the content elements, they refer to different aspects of the same thing. There are countless instances, however, where the structural phase of an activity has become separated from the content and stands alone—a mere shell. The function has become desiccated, leaving the convention to whirl on, like a tumble weed. Some conventions perform mechanically; they persist because certain people secure authority from their prestige.

Convention differs from fashion in being non-competitive. All strive to follow in the stride rather than to outdo one another. Conventions as a class are not open to question, criticism, or discussion; they are irrationally

⁷ Will Rogers, press letter, November 10, 1930.

⁸ A splendid discussion of custom and convention is given in E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), Ch. XII. Also see R. H. Gault, *Social Psychology* (Holt, 1923), Ch. VIII.

⁹ The distinction that convention is an unthought feeling of acceptance, approval or disapproval of a point of view or form of behavior or station in life, while a custom is an overt method, form, or habit of behavior which gives outward expression to the feeling of approval or disapproval (Gault, *Social Psychology*, p. 179) is the reverse of the point of view presented here.

maintained. The assumption is that everyone will adopt them. They are not promoted by the few for a brief moment as are fashions.

Convention arrives through social heredity. A person who accepts a convention does so by adding it to his stock of conventions, while the person who adopts a fashion gives up a fashion for a newer one. Convention is a process of structural repetition; fashion, of psychical substitution.

Conventions may underlie fashions. They may be hardpan across which fashion cyclones move. The rigid convention of women wearing hats indoors at public gatherings, even in church, is a background on which plays the rapid changes of styles in women's hats. Likewise, formal occasions persist conventionally without being seriously questioned while being used at the same time as a framework for fashion scintillations. The convention is unquestioned that an elaborate evening gown must be worn by a lady at a "formal"; this convention carries with it the continuous stimulus to exercise fashion choices. The convention obtains among men of wearing wool suits, but this non-competitive procedure carries with it, especially among the collegiate, flashy displays of fashion changes. Convention may thus be likened to Atlas, carrying the world of fashion upon his shoulders.

Structure of Conventions. Convention deals with social structures more than with social functions. Convention is represented by *forms*. The eating of three meals a day by Americans, carrying food to the mouth with a fork, serving coffee at an evening dinner party, and so on, all deal with the forms of securing nourishment, not with nourishment itself. A formal reception affords opportunities in part for strangers to be introduced to each other, to express a few time-worn words of greeting, to act as though they were friends, bowing with gracious form to each other, but does not develop very much abiding friendship. In the same way the making of formal calls and the leaving of calling cards are of the form rather than of the essence of friendship.

Manners are elaborate conventional forms relating to nearly all the social relationships of "cultured" people. They are intended to smooth off the rough edges of social contacts. They prevent individuality from running riot. Manners are forms of social approach, implying good will.

Carried to an extreme, manners are *deceptive*. Politeness is a form of manners that easily degenerates into lying. In order not to offend a friend one may tell him that he looks well when he is ill, or how fine a speech he made when he offended his hearers, or tell her how well an unbecoming hat looks. Even in the ordinary exercise of good manners, the form may belie the spirit. Two football captains who despise each other may shake hands before the game in the presence of the spectators and publicly wish

each other well. Convention sanctions addressing a strange woman as "My dear Madam."

As a society grows older it pays more heed to manners and forms. The pioneer is too busy mastering the wilderness to give time "to bowing and scraping" to callers. His brusqueness and rudeness disturb no one, for there is plenty of elbow room. Since his pioneer life affords him few social contacts, he remains unpolished. But when pioneering ends, and people depend less on nature and more on each other, they turn their attention to forms and develop manners to the point of obsequiousness. Especially is this true when social life becomes encased in class and caste, in autocracy and dictatorship. An immigrant often sees things in a better perspective than does a native. An immigrant reports:

One thing I couldn't get used to was the insincerity of American courtesy—it was hard to learn that when an American says, "What a becoming hat!" she means, "I never saw such a fright." In my country we don't waste words on flattery; in other words, we mean what we say or we don't say anything—we don't say "glorious" when we mean "horrible." But don't be surprised if you catch me being American in that respect—I try to be Danish there, but. . . .

Another thing—why do women enjoy showing the artificiality of their countenances? Nothing disgusts me more than to see women in a restaurant put on rouge and paint; in my estimation that belongs to the privacy of their boudoirs—but they seem proud to announce that their faces are bought at a cosmetic counter. I am not yet "American" enough for such things, but then, that isn't the type I want to copy; my type is the refined, the educated who is seeking knowledge and imparting it. When I went to my native land for a visit, I found it hard to get used to the slow pace—plenty of time, no hurry—order a purchase sent home as soon as possible; you will be lucky if you receive it in a week's time.¹⁰

ORIGINS OF CONVENTION

Conventions originate in *past utility*, either real or alleged. What is now a convention is often merely a shell of a once useful idea or activity. The dress suit was once a long, square-cornered coat, but the corners were sometimes troublesome, as in horseback riding, the most common means of rapid transportation at one time, and so two buttons were put on the back of the coat and the corners of the coat were turned back and buttoned to them. Later, square corners were cut out of the front of the coat, leaving the two buttons on the back, hanging there useless. The square corners that were cut out of the front facilitated horsemanship; they are still cut out although the automobile has superseded the horse. The square notches in the collar of a man's coat once were useful. When overcoats were not worn and when the collar of the coat was turned up, the notched out

¹⁰ From ms. by F. T.

corners made a place for the chin. The collars of ordinary coats now lie flat, but the notches are still cut out.

The French heel once served a special need. It was first worn by Louis XIV, who, because of his short stature, had lifts added to the heels of his shoes. The French heel is no longer worn by short men but by short women, and by women generally, not to increase height, but to be conventional—in defiance of hygiene, comfort, and sometimes of appearance. Even the tall, stoop-shouldered cannot escape the tyranny. Unserviceable hoods on academic gowns originated in a definite utility to the monks of long ago.

Superstitions persist in a conventional way long after their original merit has vanished. For example, the superstition of knocking on wood still survives even in "cultured" circles. The original act of touching prayerfully a wooden cross has long since been forgotten.

The belief in luck was valid in primitive days, when the unknown impinged everywhere, and when even the simpler phenomena were not understood. Under such conditions the belief in luck often gave needed initiative and persistence. Luck still is enthroned, especially in gambling, where faith in it is all-powerful. In other fields "unlucky" is a conventional excuse for defeat, or "lucky" a conventional justification. The conventional appeal to luck hinders skill or lack of skill from receiving due recognition.

Every religious dogma once represented an advanced idea or belief, but developed into a custom and continues as a convention although decades behind current knowledge. Economic laissez-faire doctrines once stimulated the masses who were being released by democracy, but now are tolerated conventionally while governmental control grows apace.

Convention gets its start with the hereditary leisure classes.¹¹ Not being forced to earn a living or to work they often give their attention to the forms and fringes of life, magnifying and exaggerating them. Since "society affairs" fill their lives, much attention is given to the forms of being introduced, of greeting, of place-cards and ranking, of appearances, of politeness.

For the average person the origin of conventions is found in an unthinking acceptance of the prevailing. We lazily drift "into an acceptance of prevailing conditions and attitudes as they are found in our immediate place and time, as when we drift into our political and religious life."¹² Or again, "the polite thing in Belgium and France is always to

¹¹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Macmillan, 1912), Chs. I, IV.

¹² R. H. Gault, *Social Psychology* (Holt, 1923), p. 183.

address a young woman of marriageable age as 'Madame,' instead of 'Miss' as with us."¹³

IMPERIOUS CONVENTION

Convention rules *imperiously*. It brooks no question; if challenged, it cries, "heretic," "traitor," "anarchist," "bolshevist." Dreading criticism, it blusters or hides. Its forms are drilled into child nature by repetition and ritual. The uncritical years and the lack of judgment of childhood lead to its easy acceptance. The "sacred memories" of childhood enforce its dominion over maturity. It can be removed from its throne only by heroic measures.

Convention's imperiousness increases with the age of a society. A new civilization is too fluid to be conventional. The pioneer is forced to rely on himself too much to care greatly about social forms. But as a civilization matures, its behavior patterns crystallize into standard forms. When its life energies slow up its structure petrifies; the enterprising may peck at the structure but can dent it only with great difficulty.

The hereditary leisure classes use convention to hamper democracy.¹⁴ By it they spread the idea that "manual labor is degrading." Likewise many business men further the conventional belief that "pecuniary success is the only success." By suggestion, false conventions are spread from the "top" of society down, so that these deceivers may assume an air of superiority. Factory girls let it be known, often by a glance of the eye, that servant girls will not be admitted to their parties. In South America and elsewhere guests in hotels or at clubs get themselves respected by encouraging the doctrine "of being waited on."¹⁵ Self-serve cafeterias are always scorned by the autocratic. The convention that autocracy must not do anything menial is made ridiculous in the story of the French king who allowed himself to be fatally over-heated because there was no servant present at the moment to move his seat away from the hearth-fire.

Even education falls a prey to autocratic conventions. American Rhodes scholars when in England have been "looked at askance for doing for themselves things which the British student has done for him by his 'scout.'"¹⁶ The members of American university rowing crews have been

¹³ Whiting Williams, *Horny Hands and Hampered Elbows* (Scribner's, 1922), p. 262.

¹⁴ The best presentation of this idea is found in E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), Ch. XII.

¹⁵ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), Ch. XXXIV.

¹⁶ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1920), first edit., p. 351.

"protested" in England on the ground that they were not "gentlemen," since they were working their way through college!¹⁷

Clericalism promotes countless conventions in order to maintain itself in power, for example, the "holier-than-thou" demeanor, the vestments, the creeds. Militarism likewise deifies conventions, as illustrated in the haughty airs of many officers, the meticulous attention to saluting, the fine distinctions in ranks.

With the growth of convention imperiousness, social forms dominate and sometimes assume a defensive and protective coloring. Bluff and bluster may deceive a few, but ultimately the shriveled heart, the decayed core, is disclosed, and the societary ramshackle falls. The Czar and his coterie exiled or killed those who opposed them, until the exigencies of war required that the disloyal subjects be enrolled in the Czarist armies to replace loyalists who had fallen in battle. The disloyalists presently made a quick revolutionary stroke and the Czarist shell collapsed with scarcely a tremor, so thin had it become.

Convention arbitrarily limits competition between classes. Not only is it universal and non-competitive on a given social level, but it prevents one level from climbing to the level above. Caste forbids one social status from invading the status above. "In Japan the code of the jinrikisha men forbids one runner to pass by another going in the same direction."¹⁸ The private may not wear the uniform of the officer; the layman may not don the robes of the clergy; the freshman may not occupy the senior bench.

TRANSFORMATION

Customs and convention often undergo transformations. After losing its original content, a custom may cleverly live on by appropriating a new meaning. Hallowe'en, once an expression of the belief in the return of departed spirits, now serves as an occasion of festivities ranging from social parties to rowdy expeditions of obstreperous youth. Thanksgiving day once noted for its family altars and church gatherings of thankfulness to Almighty God now is looked forward to by many as an occasion for overeating or playing football.

Custom survives by becoming conventional and symbolic. The Apostles' Creed is repeated by thousands who no longer believe some of its particulars, but who justify their hypocrisy by saying that it is the general spirit of the creed to which they subscribe rather than its details. The

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

¹⁸ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), p. 172.

House of Lords is endured not for its present worth but as representative of past dominant elements. The King James version of the Bible with its sometimes erroneous translations is maintained out of courtesy to the "King's English." Although sometimes expressive of many social crudities the classics of the Romans, Greeks, and Hebrews are still read widely. A university was once located at an "ox ford" and another at "Cam's bridge"; each of these plebeian terms has become dignified in the names of England's two great institutions of higher learning.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Custom is a continuing of ways or beliefs from the past.
2. Customs are woven into personalities early in life in the form of behavior patterns.
3. Customs accumulate strength from their feeling accompaniments.
4. Customs rule in language, religion, ritual, law, and prejudice.
5. Customs rule in social isolation, where contacts are few or non-stimulating.
6. Customs tend to become irrational, for they outlive the needs that called them forth.
7. Custom is the chief conserving phase of societary life.
8. Convention is the continuing of social forms.
9. Conventions are the non-competitive uniformities of behavior representing the formal and structural in life.
10. Convention is the structure that remains after the meaning of a custom has shriveled.
11. Convention specializes in "manners" and creates "a polite society."
12. Convention is promoted by the hereditary leisure class.
13. Convention rules imperiously.
14. Custom and convention may survive by acquiring new meanings or by becoming symbolic.

PROBLEMS

1. What is the relation of custom to behavior patterns?
2. Why do the feelings lend strong support to custom?
3. Why is custom strong in religion?
4. Why in law?
5. Why in language?
6. What is the relation of custom to ritual?
7. Why do customs become irrational?
8. How may a written constitution become a political handicap?
9. How do long school vacations represent an irrational custom?
10. How does custom contribute to progress?
11. What is the origin of the term "custom"?
12. Why have army officers been required by law in some countries to retire at approximately sixty-four years of age?
13. Why has it been customary to choose men past middle age as popes and judges?

14. What customs can you name which have developed in the United States?
15. Why are people in old countries more law-abiding than people in new?
16. How does the mastery of the classics "affect one's social stability"?
17. What is meant by "the neophobia of the old"?
18. Is it true that majorities do not necessarily stand for truth and justice but often for the customs and convictions of the past?
19. Why has the custom of Hallowe'en changed its content to its present nature?
20. Is the law library "the main laboratory of the law student"?
21. How is convention related to custom?
22. Why is the display of good manners conventional among the leisure classes?
23. What survivals, no longer useful, are there in the quaintly cut dress coat?
24. Why does convention rule imperiously?
25. Illustrate the statement "convention is symbolic."
26. Name two leading conventions that you have observed to-day.
27. Why does a Christian take off his hat in church and a Mohammedan his shoes?
28. Explain: Manners become worse as one travels from East to West—they are best in Asia, fairly good in Europe, poor in America.
29. Why has the dress suit for men remained more or less the same the world over?
30. Why may a man wear the same dress suit for years, whereas a woman must have a new dress for almost every formal occasion?
31. Explain: "Such generally admired beauties of person or costume as the bandaged foot, the high heel, the wasp waist, the full skirt, and the long train are such as incapacitate from all useful work."
32. Is our food more a matter of personal choice or of convention?
33. Which changes the more rapidly and why—*manner of living* or *manner of work*?
34. What are conventions for?
35. Name five irrational customs and conventions of the present time.

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CHAPTER XXII

COMPROMISE AND ADJUSTMENT

FASHION, custom, and convention often clash. The new and the old, the real and the formal, the ephemeral and the tried, all these are dichotomies that resist the melting pot. Fashions thrive on being unique. As soon as they are adjusted to fit the established order they lose their identity. It is life to them to be different and to repel compromise.

Custom and convention abhor adjustment. Theirs is the pride of years. Having been successful in the past, they are likely to pose as perfect, unimprovable. To admit modification is to risk ultimate loss of identity. They fear that if they yield an inch an ell will be taken.

Social phenomena are more custom bound and convention bound at certain points than at others. Religion, science, and law, for example, have their rigid sides which resist adjustment and plastic sides which admit change. Religion is largely controlled by custom in its creeds and dogmas, but not in its practical activities and social services. Science has its assumptions and theories to which it clings tenaciously, but it makes observations and measurements without end. Law holds fast to principles and doctrines but is extensible "on the side of rulings, decisions, and statutes."¹

A person finds himself in predicaments because of the conflicts between the old and the new, the formal and the functioning, custom and fashion. If he maintains certain customs he loses status with his youthful peers. If he "falls for" the novel, he sinks in the eyes of parents and elders. A person finds himself an assemblage of contradictory ideas, patterns of conduct, and is chagrined. Personality often is a housing of anomalies.

A person's reactions to custom and to fashion depends in part on his configuration. If he is phlegmatic and his reaction time slow, he adjusts slowly. If he has a nervous temperament, he is likely to shift easily. The phlegmatic person once adjusted stays adjusted; the nervous is a poor subject for dependable adjustment. The sour person resists compromise; the sunny person is ready to compromise and to move on. A "grouch" finds fault but holds back. An agreeable person is already committed to

¹ See E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), pp. 332-34, and Georg Simmel, "Superiority and Subordination," transl. by A. W. Small, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, II: 172-86.

adjustment. Introversion raises objections to every compromise; extroversion accepts compromise as normal.

ADAPTATION

Despite the conflicts between the old and the new, adjustments do take place. Sometimes these occur unawares to the subject most affected, and the process becomes *passive adaptation*. Sometimes the subject submits without remonstrance—another type of *passive adaptation*. Sometimes, however, the subject coöperates and illustrates *active adaptation*. Sometimes he resists and blocks adaptation.

Passive Adaptation. Plant and animal life show the effects of passive adaptation. Lower forms of life are slowly made over to meet environmental conditions. The environment may stimulate certain characteristics and hinder others; it may "select" certain tendencies and crush some. Because plants, animals, human beings, and social groups do not change as fast as environmental needs require, passive adaptation takes place.²

Mental interaction is shot through with passive adaptation. The docile child responds to parental and school suggestion; the servile hanger-on or the hired servant in politics stoops to unspeakable depths in order to garner in votes; the "society" aspirant jumps light-footedly after status. The spinelessness of passive adapters leads them hither and yon after false and motley gods of the hour. With almost any quack remedy or mysterious patter a charlatan can capture multitudes of dupes.

Transmutations is the term used by E. A. Ross to indicate "unwilled social changes." The speech of our ancestors underwent the unnoticed sound shiftings recorded in Grimm's law. Refracted through generations of scribes, pictographs shrivel into conventional ideographic characters. Coins minted first as spades or knives dwindle into unrecognizable shapes.³

Subordination is another type of passive adaptation. The inferior bows to the superior; the unexperienced to the experienced; the person without social standing to the one of "birth." The status of *follower* is the most common type of subordinated adjustment. The relation of child to parent; and under the patriarchal system, of wife to husband; of workman to

²In L. M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1915), will be found an excellent discussion of passive adaptation. Ellen Semple's *Influence of Geographic Environment* (Holt, 1911), is an encyclopedia of illustrations of passive adaptation. Plant, animal, and human ecological studies are replete with illustrations of passive adaptation.

³*Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), p. 471.

foreman; of soldier to captain—these illustrate other angles of subordination.

Slavery is a form of subordination where one person has become the property of another, where he has no political rights, where he is socially a "low-down," and where he performs compulsory labor.⁴ Since slavery originated in force, in unequal ability to fight, in unequal social circumstances, it is a product of natural subordination. The "system" furthered the subordination of the slaves by killing off all who remonstrated, by teaching the children of the rest that they were born to be slaves, and by allowing only the docile to survive. Slavery illustrates subordination in some of its worst tendencies, for it prevented the majority from experiencing normal social contacts, from developing their personalities, from experiencing a sense of independence, from knowing democracy.

Active Adaptation. The origin of active adaptation is in passive adaptation at its highest mental levels. In passively adjusting himself to nature and social groups, primitive man, for instance, learned to anticipate changes and to prepare for them. By so doing, he withstood their shock, forestalled some, and mastered others. In this way he passes from helpless to active adaptation, and the center of influence shifts from his environment to himself. Instead of being made over by his environment, he begins to make over his environment.

Active adaptation as a concept was recognized by Lester F. Ward in 1883.⁵ Ward proclaimed the rightful superiority of mind over matter and of intelligence over instructive behavior. He made a strong plea for social planning, "social telesis." Through social purposiveness, it is possible for man to make the desert bloom as the rose, to annihilate space with the airplane and the radio, to cut down death rates and double the life span. Social planning is still in its kindergarten stages.

A useful distinction, following Ward, has been made by Bristol,⁶ between active material and active spiritual adaptation. The first has led to material conquests of the earth, the providing of people with the amenities and luxuries of life; the latter has led to new epics in literature, new moral codes, new philosophic, religious, and scientific concepts. Active material adaptation has sometimes led to the defeat of spiritual control. Laws are attempts to secure a better spiritual adaptation. Active spiritual adaptation is illustrated by the influence of the Puritans in America. The process was illustrated when Copernicus' theory of the universe

⁴H. J. Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System* (The Hague, 1910), pp. 5, 6.

⁵In his two volume work, *Dynamic Sociology* (Appleton, 1915).

⁶*Social Adaptation*, p. 221.

began to spread. Woodrow Wilson enunciated "fourteen points" for international conduct that will require centuries perhaps to put into full operation.

Pioneering is active adaptation. It is making over or mastering the material or spiritual environment or both. The pioneer possesses "drive." He is not saving of himself but faces dangers for the sake of his objectives. As an individual he is handicapped in his adaptation activities, and compensates by developing initiative.

In regard to adaptation the economist has sometimes been at variance with the social psychologist. He has claimed that material civilization rules social life, while the social psychologist has pointed out that social values make material power possible, and that social values rule economic values. Without the social value of dependability there could be no economic life. Business could not develop if one human being could not depend on another for anything.

TOLERATION

A deadlock or equilibrium of strength leads to toleration. If business cannot crush out a competitor, it must get along with him. But if there be greatly unequal strength, then toleration is unnecessary—the stronger can swallow up the weaker, and will do so, unless controlled by democratic values.

We tolerate what we cannot avoid, but we may continue to dislike and to disapprove. During the period of toleration almost anything may happen. Unfavorable experiences may widen the chasm, but if a number of favorable reactions are mutually experienced, then toleration may be softened. Wholesome experiences lead to mutual give-and-take, and to constructive adjustment.

Toleration is often deceptive; it seems to mean more than it is. A person may tolerate another but in effect be saying to himself: "Just wait, I'll get even with you yet, old fellow." Politeness is often the cloak that deceptive toleration wears. Two rival society belles may bow smilingly to each other, or two opposing athletes shake hands in a friendly sort of way and in the eyes of the general public they seem to be the best of friends, but at heart they may despise each other.

The teacher may tolerate an obstreperous pupil; the parent, a wayward son; the wife, a wild husband; the social club, an unruly member—in the hope of ultimately reforming the problem individual. A pupil may tolerate an unpleasant, narrow-minded teacher in order not to be "flunked." A person may tolerate group laughter in order to be able ultimately to

secure a special favor. Wherever toleration exists, it all too often has an ulterior purpose.

Rational tolerance often has no chance. Mountain feuds ordinarily do not admit of tolerance. The sight of a member of an enemy family prompts the drawing of a weapon. Race prejudices may become so bitter that any one who pleads for tolerance is endangering his life. Some years ago the mayor of Omaha attempted to persuade a mob to tolerate an alleged wrong until the courts could act, and immediately the noose was thrown around the mayor's neck and he was dragged to the ground, barely escaping death. Many of the darkest pages of history show the difficulty of maintaining rational tolerance. If there be no tolerance, then adjustment is hopeless.

COMPROMISE

Compromise is the breaking down of toleration. Those who have compromised have begun to give in to each other. When both sides have recognized the necessity of making adjustments, a mental sparring begins. Each will give up as little as possible and will try to obtain as large a concession as possible.

Compromise leads to a variety of adjustments. There may be a mutual acceptance of a middle course. Each of two cut-throat competitors may right-about-face and organize a monopoly, pool their plans, and arrange for a division of the expected profits, as illustrated in the change from competing railroads and oil companies to the organization of combines on a community of interests basis. After stabbing each other, competitors may realize the futility of such efforts and suffer a mutation of attitudes.

Compromise may end in an allocation of different parts of the field among the competitive units, as in the case of the Protestant missionary societies in foreign fields. Each takes a certain region and the others keep out. Only in recent years have educational heads begun to make arrangements whereby one university develops certain departments and a neighboring institution certain others. Small colleges in the United States are being forced to specialize and not continue to teach a little of everything.

Compromise is followed too often only after a contest of strength. In all conflicts there are social values involved. If these be somewhat equally divided, then compromise is reasonable. It is foolish to sell out to sin because sin is so powerful; to marry a man to reform him, for if he will not reform in order to win his bride, the chances of changing later are slim; to condone evil in order to avoid a "row" and publicity.

Conciliation. An attitude of willingness to compromise is conciliation. When conciliatory attitudes exist on both sides the adjustment battle is half won. The main function of peacemakers is perhaps that of developing conciliatory attitudes. Compromise involves sacrifice and conciliation means that the price has been anticipated and accepted. Without such attitudes, compromise is perfunctory.

Dualistic Adjustments. Compromise is not only a dualistic process but it results in dualistic organization, both social and person. A democratic social organization is a combination of personal liberty and social control values. To keep a democratic state from going to pieces anarchistically or from coming to a stop at the dead center of communism requires skilful pilots skilled in making adjustments. In the September elections, 1930, in Germany, the pluralistic situation was revealed with the large Fascist gains to the Right and the communists pulling off to the Left. In the revolutions in South America in 1930 the contradictory compromises which had existed under the name of republics were again brought to the surface. In the United States, both the Republican and Democratic parties are disclosed at every major election as combines of contradictory bedfellows.

Every person is likewise characterized by anomalous compromises. One person is penurious and lavish toward different but equally worthy causes at the same time; another is characteristically spiteful and devoted toward the same acquaintance. Not being able to view himself in perspective or as others see him, he is blind to his own inconsistencies. Sometimes his friends are too considerate of him and for fear of hurting his feelings allow him to support contradictory attitudes. If he is aware of the anomalies in his make-up, he cannot throw off the slavery of habit or else he feels that he cannot afford to sacrifice his status. Contradictions in personality are often due to the fact that a person is trying to maintain status in social groups that hold opposite values. Moreover, a person may stubbornly refuse to examine past prejudices which have become anomalous in the light of his newer beliefs. Sometimes, personality develops so many contradictions that the Cartesian remedy is needed, whereby one throws out all his beliefs and ways of doing and takes back only those which can be justified. This procedure, theoretically sound, is likely to be blocked by the tenacity of old behavior patterns.

RAPID AND SLOW ADJUSTMENT

Sometimes adjustments occur in rapid succession; sometimes, very slowly. Sometimes a mutation of personality occurs or again the changes

may be so slight and slow that they are not observable at any given time. Rapid change may be revolutionary; slow is evolutionary.

Rapid adjustment usually means the overthrow of much that has been an incubus. Societies may suddenly change their course by overturning the established order, but in so doing they destroy constructive as well as destructive values. Revolutionary change creates restlessness and a certain inability to accept settled adjustments.

Conversion. A sudden reversal or acceptance of a set of attitudes is conversion. Established behavior patterns are abruptly broken and new ones undertaken, usually under a great emotional strain. While the best illustrations are found in religion where supernatural power is called in as an aid in making an about-face, and where a person suddenly acquires a great faith in this power, the psychologist gives social suggestion and auto-suggestion as major techniques in conversion.

Many conversions are returns to attitudes that originated in childhood. The mother's cry, "Where is my wandering boy to-night?" has little or no appeal to the man who had a licentious, child-beating mother, but is peculiarly effective with him who ran away from home as a boy, leaving a broken-hearted, loving mother to pine and die.

The maintenance of a conversion adjustment depends (1) on a store of behavior patterns that may be resuscitated, and (2) upon the social stimuli that function. If the convert's social contacts are sympathetic to his changed attitudes, he will be able to maintain himself much more easily than if his contacts are opposed, vicious, or inclined to hold him up to ridicule. When one's social contacts are opposed to his conversion, he is in a precarious situation.

Evolutionary Adjustment. Slow and steady adjustment is perhaps the best. It is circumspect while engaged in "building more stately mansions." Evolutionary change allows constructive values to be maintained while outworn values are being replaced by something better.

For several decades the people of England have responded sufficiently to the rising tide of labor influence to avoid revolution and yet slowly enough to conserve needed social values. The labor leaders of England have followed, in the main, the principle of slow adjustment. At one time they refrained from attempting to secure control of the House of Commons until their rank and file had attained political judgment. The leaders at that time were shrewd enough to see that if the laboring class jumped into the control of government its members would not have time to develop the political understanding and vision requisite to meet the tremendous responsibilities. By acquiring power faster than its

members learn to exercise power, a group may wreck both itself and its chances of future success. Adjustment that lasts usually requires time, patience, training, social support. Leaders need to be guided not so much by their own idealism, as by the speed with which their constituents can change their dependable behavior patterns.

ASSIMILATION

Assimilation is a high degree of adjustment. Attitudes are harmonized and blended. The sutures found in compromise have disappeared and a new unity has arisen. Assimilation is a mental process, involving the remaking of behavior patterns. It is the uniting of persons in common behavior. It means the giving up of old loyalties and the building of new ones. It takes time. No one ordinarily can make over fundamental patterns of action quickly.⁷

Assimilation is an educational process. It is the result of indirect suggestion based on favorable experiences. With or without teachers, every person throughout life is going to school to life, adopting new ways of doing and believing and making over his patterns of behavior. Park and Burgess have defined assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them into a common cultural life."⁸ Assimilation is one of the results of shared experience.⁹ It includes participation, subtle changes, gradual growth. It is so highly subjective that it is hard to observe and hence to understand. Its content is likemindedness, a concept developed as early as 1896 by Giddings.¹⁰ Its opposite, in a sense, is accommodation, which has been defined as open, abrupt, involving compromise, more or less external adjustments.¹¹

Ideas as well as persons become assimilated. The idea of God as a tribal deity came into conflict with a different tribal concept of God, and ultimately the two melted into one belief, in a national God, which in turn conflicted with the ideas about the national deities of other peoples, with the result that the whole process was repeated, and that a

⁷ Inasmuch as much of the differences between races in mental traits have been judged to be due to differences in nurturing factors and since "the rest is due to racial mobility," no one race has more than "a temporary advantage over another." T. R. Garth, *Race Psychology* (Whittlesey House, 1931), p. 221.

⁸ *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 735.

⁹ John Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (Open Court Publishing Co., 1925), p. 202.

¹⁰ *Principles of Sociology* (Macmillan, 1896), pp. 17ff.

¹¹ Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, Ch. X.

concept of a universal God resulted. The languages of the Angles and the Saxons conflicted with the languages of the Celts, Normans, French, as well as with the older Latin and Greek languages, and after a long period of time a new product was reached, the English language, which, although a hodge-podge, acquired a dictionary entity.

Ethnic Assimilation. There are several theories of ethnic assimilation.¹² The best known in our country is the "melting pot" theory.¹³ A figure of speech is rarely accurate and the melting pot concept has been misinterpreted. Zangwill's original idea was democratic, but immigrants have often objected. The figure of the melting pot brings to the immigrant the picture of himself being dangled over a cauldron into which he is about to be dropped and from which he will ultimately emerge as an indistinguishable part of the mass, having lost previous identity.

The melting pot theory has furthered the laissez-faire policy of doing nothing regarding assimilation. After 1909, when the melting pot figure of speech caught the public fancy, there was a widespread belief that ethnic fusion had been occurring more or less automatically. People had taken pride in referring to our country as a vast assimilation cauldron, and had not investigated the facts, which received no attention until after the United States entered the World War. Then it became generally known that there perhaps were millions of immigrants who were living in our large cities and industrial centers in huddled, segregated groups. There were vast undissolved lumps in the body politic.

A second assimilation theory came to the front in 100 per cent Americanism. During the World War countless immigrants were called "foreign invaders," by "patrioteers." Americans denounced all immigrants who did not "get a hustle on themselves and get naturalized." Immigrants who were slow to fight for our country and against their own native country were "to get out at once." Their language was to be denied them and they were to be compelled to become like a native-born standardized American. This Prussian method did more harm than good, represented the practice that many immigrants had come to the United States to get away from, and promoted bolshevism.

A third theory is that of ethnic federation. Each group is to maintain its racial integrity; intermarriage is not to occur; but a common type of culture is to be developed. According to this conception ethnic differences are basic; "they are primary, and ineradicable because natural,

¹² Four of these are well summarized by I. B. Berkson in his *Theories of Americanization* (Columbia Univ., 1920), Ch. II.

¹³ Cf. Israel Zangwill, *The Melting Pot* (Macmillan, 1909).

while all other differences, those of environment and acquired, are secondary and changeable.”¹⁴ Although hardly tenable, this theory is thought-provoking.

The fourth is the community theory of Americanization. It has been expressed elsewhere by the writer in the following ways: “Americanization means giving the immigrant the best America has to offer and retaining for Americans the best in the immigrant;” and “Americanization is the uniting of new and native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation, to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all.”¹⁵

It is in both mental and cultural unity that we may expect to find true assimilation. We cannot ask an immigrant to give up his loyalty to his homeland where his early days were spent, where he learned his mother tongue, and where his parents lived and perhaps died. He who has no such loyalties is not dependable to develop new loyalties. A great love and loyalty are built by degrees; and hence the immigrant may be encouraged to keep his homeland loyalty providing he will fit it in, or parts of it, into his new national loyalty. His native tongue is of value in his new habitat, for it will serve as a connecting link between an ancient literature and culture history and the new country. Immigrants from all races hold the keys that unlock the cultural treasure-stores of all mankind. They may be encouraged to offer their gifts of art, music, song, handwork to the making of a new cosmopolitan culture.

According to the community theory of assimilation, it is expected that the immigrant will be given an opportunity to take part in community life and that he will accept it. In return he will develop a new sense of social responsibility, of democratic responsiveness, of group consciousness. The community theory provides for that kind of participation which will enable the immigrant to secure better living and working conditions than he has known, to develop his personality, to be socially creative. It assumes that the native will overcome his prejudice, his feelings of superiority, his aloofness; and that the immigrant will show himself adjustable, willing to give up the antiquated, and to be coöperative.

Naturalization. A well-known phase of assimilation is naturalization, whereby a person swears away his loyalty to one national group and acquires a loyalty to another. Of course, where a person has suffered persecution in his native land, as the Jews have in Poland, or where he

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁵ *Essentials of Americanization* (Univ. of Southern California Press, 1923), Ch. I.

has been an illiterate subject in an autocracy, he may not have much loyalty to give up. When he reaches a free country, naturalization is relatively simple.

But when a loyal Englishman leaves home for the United States, he does not readily become naturalized, for to him naturalization means, first of all, denationalization. He must give up his loyalty to the Union Jack, which is almost impossible because that flag has been for him the center of much feeling and sentiment. A major reason why the English are slower in becoming American citizens than are many other immigrants is because of the difficulty in giving up their homeland loyalty. H. J. Bridges analyzes this problem well, showing how time and sympathy in the new land are essential.¹⁶ Edward A. Steiner has depicted similar difficulties in becoming de-religionized or in giving up an ingrained religion for a new one.¹⁷ Thousands of Mexican immigrants to the United States do not become naturalized because they cannot adjust themselves to swear away their loyalty to the Mexican flag and all the sympathy for their homeland that its stormy history has engendered in them.

The experiences of Prussia in attempting to Prussianize the Poles, of Russia in Russianizing the Poles, of Hungary in Magyarizing Slovaks and Croats, all reveal a misunderstanding of the assimilation process. In Prussia and Russia the Poles were forbidden to use their own language, and at once were made aware of how they were being manipulated. To forbid the use of one's native tongue, especially when that is inseparably bound up with religious worship, and with domestic sentiments, at once arouses a person's loyalty to that which he is about to lose. He would die rather than be untrue to old loyalties. On the other hand, the Poles in Prussia, before an active Prussianization program was inaugurated, were gradually losing their Polish ways and slowly becoming Prussian—as a result of the indirect influence of a non-aggressive environment.

Denationalization, a troublesome step in naturalization, can be promoted only indirectly. A person cannot be forced to give up loyalties or loves, but new values can be made so attractive that he will grow loyal to them, and, unaware to him, gradually outgrow old loyalties. It is only in crises that he realizes how his loyalties have changed. How many persons after living in a large city or in a new country for years are astounded upon returning to the old home to find how small it seems, how they themselves have changed, and how quickly they become restless under the old conditions.

¹⁶ *On Becoming an American* (Marshall Jones, 1919).

¹⁷ *From Alien to Citizen* (Revell, 1914).

To beware of treating immigrants as outsiders, is a good attitude for natives to develop.¹⁸ To treat the immigrant as an outsider and at the same time expect him to become an insider in his attitudes is a contradiction in terms. To treat him as an outsider is to lower his status; in order to develop a new loyalty in him it is necessary to raise his status. To further the essence of naturalization it is wise to improve the immigrant's social situations in one way or another. To hold him at arm's length on a lower level while urging that he become loyal to us is not bettering his social outlook; moreover, it is violating the laws of social psychology.

ACCULTURATION

Acculturation is the fusion of cultures; it is a major phase of social adjustment. Material elements are the first to be transmitted from race to race. "The objective demonstration" of their helpful effects is sufficient to secure their adoption. The transmission and diffusion of liquor, firearms, the Peruvian potato (erroneously called the Irish potato), poison gases, the radio illustrate this phase of acculturation. The transmission of physical culture patterns may not go deep, for the basic patterns of family, political, and religious life may not be seriously affected. Ultimately, however, the diffusion of language, techniques, manner of living, and so on, reaches down into and modifies underlying patterns.

May acculturation take place too rapidly? Can a primitive group be truly converted to a new religion with high ethical standards, such as Christianity, overnight? What happens when a simple cultural group contacts suddenly a complex cultural group? Evidently there is much reorganization and some disorganization and deterioration that takes place. Missionaries, trained in theology but not in cultural anthropology, fail to understand acculturation.¹⁹ Some claim that it is a mistake for people "to wear out their souls in efforts to convert the thirteenth century into the nineteenth in a score of years."²⁰ According to Graham Wallas, "sudden transformations usually mean the rapid death and disappearance of the people themselves as well as of their culture." The missionary, like the evangelist at home, may well see to it that there is not too much taboo, and that the whole personality is revitalized in relation to the whole round of life activities.

¹⁸ W. B. Pillsbury, *The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism* (Appleton, 1919), p. 132.

¹⁹ A set of concrete illustrations of the problems facing the missionary who wishes his culture upon peoples of a different culture is given by D. J. Fleming in his *Contacts with Non-Christian Cultures* (Doran, 1923).

²⁰ Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies* (London, 1901), p. 379.

The "mass movements" in India where multitudes are brought "into the Kingdom" have merit, but they in themselves do not provide for very much real acculturation and hence are likely to be unsubstantial. Mass movements need to be followed up very carefully with mass acculturation, or else the adjustments are fickle.

A serious form of deteriorative acculturation comes from the contacts of commerce with primitive peoples. The lower traits of commercial people have been transmitted to primitives, dragging them down. The latter have been exploited; valuables have been taken from them in exchange for trinkets.²¹ Commercial promoters away from home have allowed their lower impulses, particularly sex impulses, free reign. These disastrous phases of acculturation need to be handled by a strong world organization, such as the League of Nations, which through its committees has already begun the task.

AMALGAMATION

Amalgamation is the fusion of peoples by intermarriage and miscegenation. It is sometimes called biological assimilation. It is the leading outgrowth of assimilation proper. It normally follows assimilation, and makes new races.

Amalgamation is a result. After people have learned to think alike, they easily intermarry. When assimilation and a community of minds have taken place, the problems of intermarriage tend to disappear. Until assimilation has been achieved, amalgamation of races widely different in culture traits is not advisable. The person who marries out of his racial group will be ostracized by that group and not accepted by the group into which he marries. The problems of amalgamation are chimerical if the laws of assimilation are first observed.

A bad form of amalgamation is found where preliterate and literate races contact one another, for miscegenation occurs between the morally weak men of the literate groups and the less advanced women of the preliterate peoples. Mixed bloods of illegitimate origin are the product of vicious social conditions, and yet may yield a surprisingly large percentage of capable persons, as demonstrated by outstanding mulattoes in the United States. In the pathological phases of amalgamation, sex impulses have been the main offenders, creating knotty assimilation problems.

Assimilation Differential. The greater the racial differences, the slower

²¹ See E. E. Muntz, *Race Contact* (Century, 1927), for extensive data showing how so-called higher races take advantage of the lower.

the assimilation rate and the percentage of racial intermarriage. Races culturally close together assimilate and intermarry more rapidly than those farther apart. Some races may have definite traditions against cultural intermixture and intermarriage, as represented by certain Jewish traditions affecting Gentiles. Some peoples are held back from intermixture by religious rules, for example, Catholic injunctions regarding intermarriage with non-Catholics. In a study of 100,000 marriages in New York City, extending over a five year period, 1908-1912, by the late Dr. Julius Drachsler, it was found that the ratio of intermarriage for men and women of all nationalities is about fourteen out of every one hundred marriages, with "a strong tendency for intermarriage to occur within identical generations." The intermarriage rate for Jews and Negroes with other races is the lowest of all—for the Jews because of religious distinctions, and for the Negroes, because of color and prejudices against them. The ratio is also lowest for first generation immigrants, because their contacts are greatly limited.²²

The three main factors which seem to operate in furthering amalgamation, for example, in New York City are: (1) the preponderance of marriageable men over marriageable women, with the consequent seeking of mates in outside groups; (2) a rise in economic status, although here a controlling reaction sets in as soon as a medium economic level is attained. Social exclusiveness begins to operate forcefully with economic success, and cuts down the intermarriage rate to that, if not below that, of the lowest economic classes; and (3) a diminution in the intensity of the group consciousness or in the attitude of group solidarity.²³ In the second generation the increase in intermarriage rate is offset by a decrease in "the number of nationalities with which individuals of the second generation intermarry." Here again social aloofness operates with especial force. The second generation suffers a break in racial solidarity with its parent generation, but is held back from racial intermarriages by a general exclusiveness on the part of other races.²⁴ The intermarriage rate varies in the main according to the increase or decrease of friendly social contacts.

Amalgamation is often objected to because the "superior" races will be pulled down by "inferior" ones. There is probably more difference in racial stock between the members of any race than there is between races.

²² Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation* (Macmillan, 1920), Chs. IV, V.

²³ Drachsler, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-48.

²⁴ The mixed blood, as pointed out by Dr. E. B. Reuter, is usually unable to resolve the conflict between personal desires and "sound taboos." The mixed blood often refuses to be identified with one racial group, the "lower culture" one, and is denied recognition by the "higher group." E. B. Reuter, *Race Mixture* (Whittlesey House, 1931), p. 214.

"No race is lacking in any essential characteristic of mind," declares E. B. Reuter, after a careful scientific scrutiny of the data.²⁵ Superiority and inferiority of races imply different times of observation; it makes a difference whether you rate the Anglo-Saxon race according to its cultural status in 1000 B. C., or now. Social contacts and stimuli seem to be the most important factors creating racial "inferiority" or "superiority."

Amalgamation, or biological assimilation is not to be forced. Unlike mental assimilation it requires generations. A new race is not made in a day, but rather in half a thousand years. "Too rapid a mixture involves a sudden break with cultural tradition, and a consequent demoralization of the individual." Biological assimilation hinges on mental assimilation.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Compromise is the essence of the social process of accommodation.
2. Conciliation is a process favoring rational compromises.
3. Accommodation begins in a process of passive adaptation whereby unplanned changes are made in response to environmental stimuli.
4. Active adaptation implies the use of intelligence in modifying environment or personality itself.
5. Active material adaptation leads to the exploitation and utilization of natural resources.
6. Active spiritual adaptation consists in transforming cultures, organizations, attitudes.
7. Accommodation is opposed by custom, which fears change.
8. Accommodation is often preceded by toleration.
9. Accommodation may end in subordination and superordination.
10. Accommodation may terminate in a new superorganization, in disjunctive agreement, or in a complete division.
11. Conversion is rapid accommodation.
12. The permanence of conversion and its counterpart, mutation, depends on building up new behavior patterns and maintaining new social contacts.
13. Evolutionary accommodation is the most dependable form; it provides time for the necessary behavior pattern adjustments to be made.
14. Accommodation is a dualistic adjustment of different, complementary, or opposite elements.
15. Adjustment is the essence of the social process of assimilation.
16. The natural culmination of accommodation is assimilation whereby integrations of attitudes occur.
17. Naturalization is a phase of assimilation by which a person makes a transfer of loyalties.
18. Ethnic adjustment may be either of the "melting pot" type, the "Prussianizing" type, the federation type, or the community and participation type.
19. Acculturation is that phase of assimilation by which cultures are integrated.
20. Amalgamation is an integration of biological traits through miscegenation.

²⁵ *Population Problems* (Lippincott, 1923), p. 275.

PROBLEMS

1. When are you most willing to compromise?
2. When least willing?
3. Why is toleration sometimes deceptive?
4. When should a person compromise?
5. How did the compromise work of Henry Clay prevent the South from winning the Civil War?
6. How might further compromise have prevented the war altogether?
7. Why is not conciliation more common than it is?
8. When is conversion reliable?
9. What dualistic accommodations have you noted in your own nature?
10. Distinguish between accommodation and assimilation.
11. What are the fallacies in "Prussianization" as it was applied to the Poles?
12. What is the weakness of "the melting pot" idea?
13. Why may acculturation take place too rapidly?
14. Why should missionaries be versed in acculturation principles?
15. Distinguish between assimilation and amalgamation.
16. What is the assimilation differential?
17. Why is naturalization an unusually delicate social psychological process?
18. What is the relation of naturalization to nationalization?
19. What is the best way to help a person develop a new loyalty?
20. What is the social psychological weakness in the verb "to Americanize"?
21. How is the English language a product of acculturation?
22. Will the acculturation process continue until all the races of the world become one race?
23. What are the main objections to the intermarriage of persons belonging to widely different races?

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CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIALIZATION

SOCIALIZATION is the climax of intersocial stimulation. It is that process whereby individuals with no outlook or understanding develop into self-respecting persons with a full-orbed social responsibility. Socialization, to the present writer, is the process whereby persons learn to behave dependably together but not necessarily alike in behalf of human welfare, and in so doing experience an increasing degree of social self control, social responsibility, and balanced personality.

E. A. Ross has pointed out that socialization is "the development of the we-feeling in associates and their growth in capacity and will to act together."¹ The key-word is "we-feeling." Socialization, to F. H. Giddings,² includes the development of "a social state of mind," and to E. W. Burgess it is the participation of the individual in the spirit, purposes, decisions, and actions of groups.³ Holding oneself responsible for the welfare of other persons is an added moral note given by C. A. Ellwood.⁴

The group as well as the individual may experience socialization. Whether a family or a nation, or a world, a group is not being socialized unless the constructive development of all its human units is continuously taking place and unless all are learning to act harmoniously in line with the welfare of other human groups. The socialization of a group is the process whereby the members change from a loose heterogeneity to an organized homogeneity, with authority distributed to each, with each functioning increasingly in the group enterprises and identifying his own personality with the welfare of the group, and with the main purposes of the group not centered on building itself up, but on building up other constructive groups and humanity itself. A nation well along in socialization, for example, is one which acts more or less habitually according to world welfare standards.

¹ *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), p. 375.

² *Theory of Socialization* (Macmillan, 1897), p. 2. Also see Giddings' description of socialization in his *Studies in the Theory of Human Society* (Macmillan, 1922), pp. 287-290.

³ *The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1916), p. 2.

⁴ *Christianity and Social Science* (Macmillan, 1923), p. 65.

ORIGINS OF SOCIALIZATION

Response and Communication. Being reared in association every person has a socially responsive nature that is an excellent ground for socialization. Since human beings have a basic urge for response they naturally are subject to socialization. They easily build up behavior patterns that are substantial aids to socialization. An individual who was not socially responsive could hardly develop into a person, and hence socialization is quite natural.

Out of repeated response develop dependable and socialized actions. A well socialized person is one who habitually responds to the welfare of other persons without expectation of reward. The temptations to take advantage of the untrained, of the less educated, of the immature, are so many and so insidious that nothing less than the most stable, habitual organization of personality in the direction of constructive social welfare is essential.

Symbols with their meanings enable individuals to understand one another and to coöperate. If people cannot communicate they cannot learn to act together. By virtue of communication, persons may commune with one another, participate in mutual aid, develop kindred attitudes and values. Communication which is communion is socialization at work.

Sympathy and Imagination. A given need releases similar emotional reactions in different persons at the same time who may thereby respond together. Mutual suffering brings hard-hearted pioneers together, melts antagonisms between relatives, and some times bridges chasms between enemies. The intermingling of persons in need creates a group sympathy, and the rise of group sympathy is socialization in action.

In imagining one's self in the position of another person, one is better able to understand that person's problems and to develop socialized attitudes. But to imagine one's self in the position of others and then as a result to take advantage of them is common: this is not socialization, but exploitation.

Knowledge and Action. Knowledge of other persons' problems is necessary for socialization. Knowledge of others' needs is a powerful stimulus to help. Without this knowledge so-called socialized effort is mechanical coöperation. The cognitive factor is absent in the "general organic coöperativeness of the social wasps, beetles, bees, and ants. Nature's most startling efforts in communal organization"⁵ are lacking in intellect-

⁵ W. M. Wheeler, *Social Life Among the Insects* (Harcourt Brace, 1923), pp. 4, 5.

ual approach. These social insects do not handle problems not present in time or space, but work more or less mechanically in the present. Thanks to cognition persons can acquire a knowledge of the problems of mankind everywhere, and develop a socialized world viewpoint.

Participation in social activity is essential to socialization. In action we learn, and in coöperative action we learn social meanings. The thrill of working together for a worthy cause furthers socialization more than almost anything else can do. Community recreation that secures the participation of thousands of persons in an historical pageant can hardly be excelled in stimulating socialization. In short, to work together for a group cause is socializing.⁶

The most important work is that produced *in common*, produced by common stimulation, and by each person thinking in terms of the whole group.⁷ If all the membership of any group contribute new suggestions to the best of their respective abilities, each will stimulate the others to outdo themselves. Like interstimulation socialization is cumulative.

The following account illustrates an important phase of socialization. A young woman, born in the Middle West but who moved to the Pacific Coast, had been taught to hate immigrants. In a series of experiences her race prejudices were modified and even sublimated into generous racial sympathies. Her story begins not simply on an unsocial level, but below, and ends on a high plane of socialization. The dynamic experiences were:

I was persuaded by a friend to visit a social settlement and while there consented to take a class of Italian girls. As I came to know these girls personally, I became interested in their problems and to admire them in many ways. They were appreciative and surprised me again and again by their responses to my suggestions. The life of my friend who was a social settlement resident impressed me greatly, especially her devotion to the immigrants and their great loyalty to her. Then, I overheard some foreign-born parents tell how they had been scorned by Americans and even exploited, and my sense of fair play was aroused in their behalf. I began to see some of the disadvantages which were theirs. I took some courses in sociology which gave me an acquaintance with the cultural backgrounds of several races, and which aroused my interest in them and their problems. I began to see the fallacy in the statement of the man who said he was 200 per cent American and hated everybody. Finally, I made some friendships in college with foreign students and found among them as fine young people as I had ever met. I still see the faults of immigrants, but find that on the whole immigrants are no worse than we are, and that they are human beings at heart pretty much like us. Before I left college I was elected president of the Cosmopolitan Club, and since leaving I

⁶ Again, see Dewey's statement that "shared experience is the greatest of human goods." *Experience and Nature* (Open Court, 1925), p. 202.

⁷ M. P. Follett, *The New State* (Longmans, Green, 1918), p. 34.

have helped to organize an inter-racial committee for the discussion of racial problems in our town on the basis of good will and coöperative activity.⁸

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

We all start life as little anarchists; we observe no social rules except by accident; we flaunt social considerations. As life comes on we learn social articulation and assume increasing circles of social responsibility. Stimuli and experience lead us out; sympathy and knowledge give us social responsibilities. *Child is non-social*

To the infant, everything is first of all objective.⁹ Even his fingers and toes seem to him to belong to outside worlds, but when these fingers and toes are pinched or burned, they are accepted as a part of the individual. Through his various and vicarious experiences, his conflicts with other persons, particularly his defeats and sufferings, he gradually builds up two worlds, an ego world and an outside world. Other personalities are distinguished from his own personality. Parts of the objective world are brought piece by piece into his subjective world. Through experiences portions of the objective world are made subjective so that a person gets meanings for a great deal of that which is going on around him. Even teachings about God have little meaning to the little child until he suffers pain or loss that neither he nor his parents can absolve; then he begins to pray in earnest, and in so praying, God becomes a personality to him and his own personality becomes more specific.

Through daily interstimulation, a child develops both *individuality* and *sociality*, and starts up the long and difficult trail of socialization.¹⁰ With the growth of personality there develops a bi-polarism. At one extremity of bi-polar personality there is a recognition of the ways in which a person is different from other persons, or *individuality*. A social stimulus may be responded to docilely by many persons, but reacted against by a certain person, indicating a marked individuality. Since no two persons seem to inherit the same genes,¹¹ neural apparatus, and do not develop the same mental mechanisms, their development under the stimuli from similar environments is not the same. They differ, develop individuality, which makes socialization necessary but difficult at times, complicated but interesting.

⁸ From ms. by F. N.

⁹ The stages in the socialization process were first analyzed by J. M. Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations* (Macmillan, 1897), Ch. I.

¹⁰ Or as Cooley said, "Self and society are twin-born," *Social Organization* (Scribner's, 1909), p. 5.

¹¹ See H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature* (W. W. Norton, 1930).

At the other pole of bi-polar personality there springs up an awareness of similarities between the given person and others, or *sociality*. Because of similar inheritances, needs, contacts, stimuli, individuals react similarly and are enabled to work together even while developing both individuality and sociality. Sociality is evidenced by the fact that persons the world around respond in pretty much the same ways to the most disturbing experiences of life, of defeat and victory, of insult and injustice, of sickness and death. Because persons are much more alike than different, because sociality is more extensive than individuality, although the latter attracts far more attention, the socialization process has leeway.

As a result of intersocial stimulation, the individuality and sociality phases are continually subject to modification, and to an upsetting of a balance between them. The tendency for individuality to dominate is powerful, unless a person's social sympathy and understanding are well developed. Individuality holds socialization back, may even defeat it, and yet is necessary to prevent sociality from drawing a person into helpless vortexes. It prevents one from throwing himself to the tigers; it helps destroy the tigers so that the world may be made safe for that which is social. Sociality must grow or else individuality will reign and the tigers will eat each other up, like the Kilkenny cats, until nothing remains except the tails. Socialization means the development and integration of individuality so that persons may work together, although not necessarily alike.

Sociality develops simultaneously with individuality. Social contacts call forth both. The basic urges for new experience lead to individuality; the urges for response, to recognition and security. Individuality becomes abnormal under either a repressive or an easy-going environment. Sociality may be held back by a too individualistic environment; overstimulated, by too much idealism.

As the child learns the meanings of life through his experiences, he reads those meanings into the actions of other persons. He projects his interpretations into the behavior of his associates, and develops a projective personality. The projection usually takes place along horizontal lines of behavior. A person usually throws himself out along his occupational and social status levels. He fails to understand the behavior of those whose status is markedly different from his own. Consequently horizontal socialization develops more than vertical socialization.¹² To the growing personality every new social phenomenon is at first objective and somewhat meaningless; then through experiences, especially suffering, meanings develop

¹² Cf. the discussion of the spheric self, linear self, flat self, vein self, star self by E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), pp. 385ff.

and a person's subjective nature grows; finally, through projection of meanings, the needs of other persons are understood, and socialization has proceeded apace.¹³

A boy will see a look on his father's face and not understand. Later he discovers that same expression on his own face, realizes that is a token of distress, and thereafter project that meaning wherever he encounters that look. Thus he becomes expert in reading signs and in finding personality behind looks, gestures, attitudes. As long as phenomena are purely objective, one can hardly comprehend them. Through experiencing them they become subjective,—highly so if that experience involves suffering, for suffering produces a high degree of emotional disturbance. Then, and then only, can one truly project his personality helpfully into the lives of other persons; then can one truly sympathize; can one develop an ultimate sincerity; can one truly feel "the pulse of mankind"; become akin to all people everywhere; and make considerable socialization headway.

In suffering, provided there be not too much of it, a person receives an answer to Job's classic question: "Why must a good and innocent man suffer?" It is because even a person innocent of sin may easily slip back into self-centered attitudes unless he is repeatedly forced out of these attitudes through suffering into the sufferings of mankind. Suffering prods persons up the socialization scale; otherwise, they easily slip back into older and less sensitive attitudes.

The process of socialization turns out to be neverending. The pot of gold at the end of the rainbow is elusive. A person is never completely socialized. He may reach one stage of socialization after another, but always there is another ahead. Socialization is never static, never attained completely, never finished.

Moreover, a person grows socialized unevenly. At any time he is more socialized in some particulars than in others. He may act socialized toward close friends, but not at all toward strangers. He may be more socialized in his family circle than in his business dealings. To say that a person is socialized is both a relative and a comparative judgment. It means that the person in question is more socialized than he was some time previously or more than some one else is. It means that averaging his behavior in its various particulars he shows up well when the behavior of other persons is averaged and used as a measuring stick.

¹³ Cf. the discussion of the social self by C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Chs. V, VI; *Social Organization*, Chs. I, II; and J. M. Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, Ch. I.

SOCIAL VALUES AND SOCIALIZATION

It is not enough to put oneself into other persons' places. Many do that in order to take advantage. It is necessary to help others for their own sake, or else exploitation is substituted for socialization. Strength of character is not enough, for a criminal may use that superior strength in anti-social ways. Education as such does not develop social responsibility or even give social reliability, because education may train persons in self-culture and self-strength, and show them how to manipulate others for their own advantage and the loss of the other's. "Why did you come to college?" I asked a young man of strong character some time ago, and he frankly replied, "So that I can learn to use other people to my personal gain." This statement sounds anti-social and exceptional, and yet if frankness prevailed, many persons and through them institutions also, would give evidence of using human beings for gain.

Socialization tends toward moralization, according to C. A. Ellwood.¹⁴ To the extent that a person identifies himself with other persons' welfare, socialization attains moralization. The socialized person in this sense identifies himself with social values and ideals. According to T. G. Soares a person is socialized when he regards the development of other persons as well as himself as ends, "never using anyone simply as a means, and finds his own welfare in the welfare of every group to which in any wise he belongs, even the great human group in its entirety."¹⁵

The socialization of personality moves forward in an atmosphere permeated by welfare stimuli. If in a social life, the only life we know, honesty, reliability, balance, chastity, courage, and the like, are built up and integrated, socialization is occurring. An individual learns to identify his personality with that of other persons, first, through his relationships in the home group; then in the play groups, even in the "gang"; then through his participation in larger groups, as for example, in his occupational group, where he acquires an occupational ethics if he remains in good status; then in his participation in national life where he reaches the various ethical levels of patriotism; and also in the world group where his sense of socio-ethical responsibility attains universal proportions. Socialization, therefore, is the constructive reacting to the various group values organized into a harmonious system of values.

An ethical element is recognized by Park and Burgess when they refer to socialization as being achieved when all persons "live together as mem-

¹⁴ *Christianity and Social Science* (Macmillan, 1923), p. 65.

¹⁵ *The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible* (Abingdon Press, 1915), p. 376.

bers of one family."¹⁶ It is not enough to hold socialized attitudes toward one's family and antagonistic attitudes toward one's neighbors; not sufficient to be socialized toward one's nation but uncoöperative toward the world.

Socialization includes socialized self-control, that is, a person directs his behavior to socialized ends rather than doing so under societary orders. He develops such behavior patterns that he works naturally for the common good rather than under external compulsion. He moves freely toward socialized ends rather than at the point of a bayonet.

Socialization, in summary, means unity of purpose, not uniformity of personality.¹⁷ The aim is not to make all persons alike in methods or traits, but in attitudes. Let each remain different and let his margins of uniqueness be developed to the full, providing they be dedicated to the common welfare without anticipation of personal gain. Socialization would not reduce people to a dead level of monotony. Socialization would secure better than any other process the fullest development of personality, for by it personality would be devoted to universal purposes. Under socialization each stimulates everyone else to the largest and richest personal experiences; all grow in creativeness.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Socialization develops out of response and communication, sympathy and imagination, knowledge and action.
2. Socialization is an acting together but not necessarily alike of a number of persons.
3. Human life is first objective; through experiences it acquires meanings, and its subjective nature grows; then the meanings are made projective; and meanings are acquired for the social world—the total process is socialization.
4. Socialization implies the gradual substitution of inner controls for outer and imposed controls.
5. Socialization moves toward unity, not uniformity; it pulls toward higher constructive levels rather than down to lower destructive planes.
6. Socialization is the development of attitudes of universal concern, responsibility, and sacrifice.

PROBLEMS

1. Illustrate socialization from your own experience.
2. Distinguish between a social person and a socialized person.
3. Are all dependable persons social?
4. Are all social persons dependable?
5. Why have not more socially dependable persons been developed by the superior educational system in the United States?

¹⁶ *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 496.

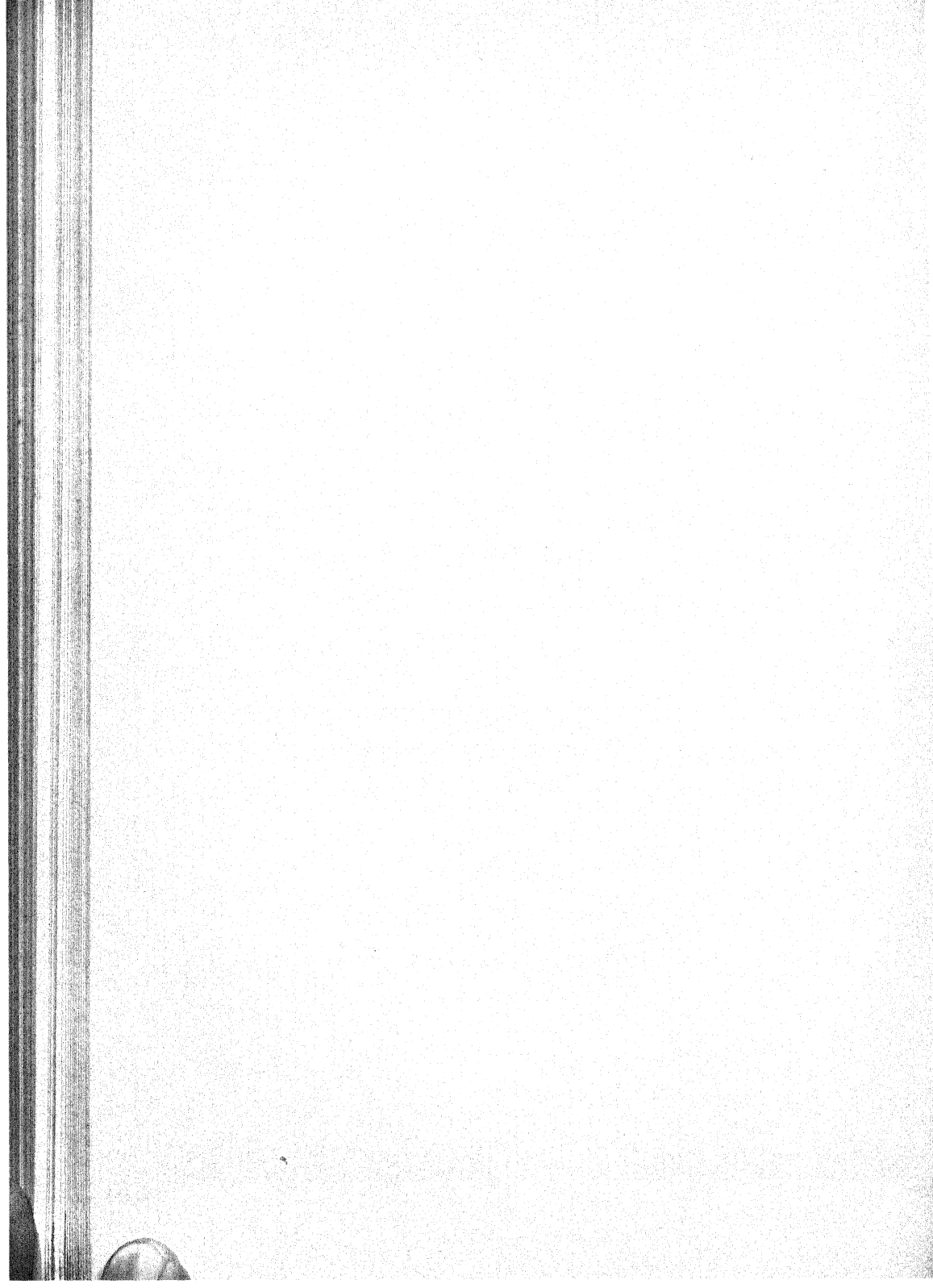
¹⁷ C. A. Ellwood, *Christianity and Social Science* (Macmillan, 1923), p. 72.

6. May a group be unsocial or anti-social when the members are socially responsive?
7. Grade in order of ability to coöperate with people of group widely different from their own: unskilled laborers, farmers, college students, housewives, lawyers.
8. What is the relation of socialization to social values?
9. Is socialization chiefly a psychological or an ethical process?
10. Which of the definitions of socialization quoted in this chapter do you prefer and why?
11. Explain the statement that all individuals are little anarchists at birth.
12. Explain: "Self and society are twin-born."
13. Why is socialization never attained?
14. How can socialization attain unity without uniformity?

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PART IV
GROUP STIMULATION



CHAPTER XXIV

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY GROUPS

HUMAN beings not only interact as persons but as members of groups. Groups are the backgrounds of all social stimuli. "We react in terms of our groups," says H. A. Miller, "and must always be understood as reflecting them."¹ Group environment is the matrix of all intersocial stimulation.

GROUP PRIORITY

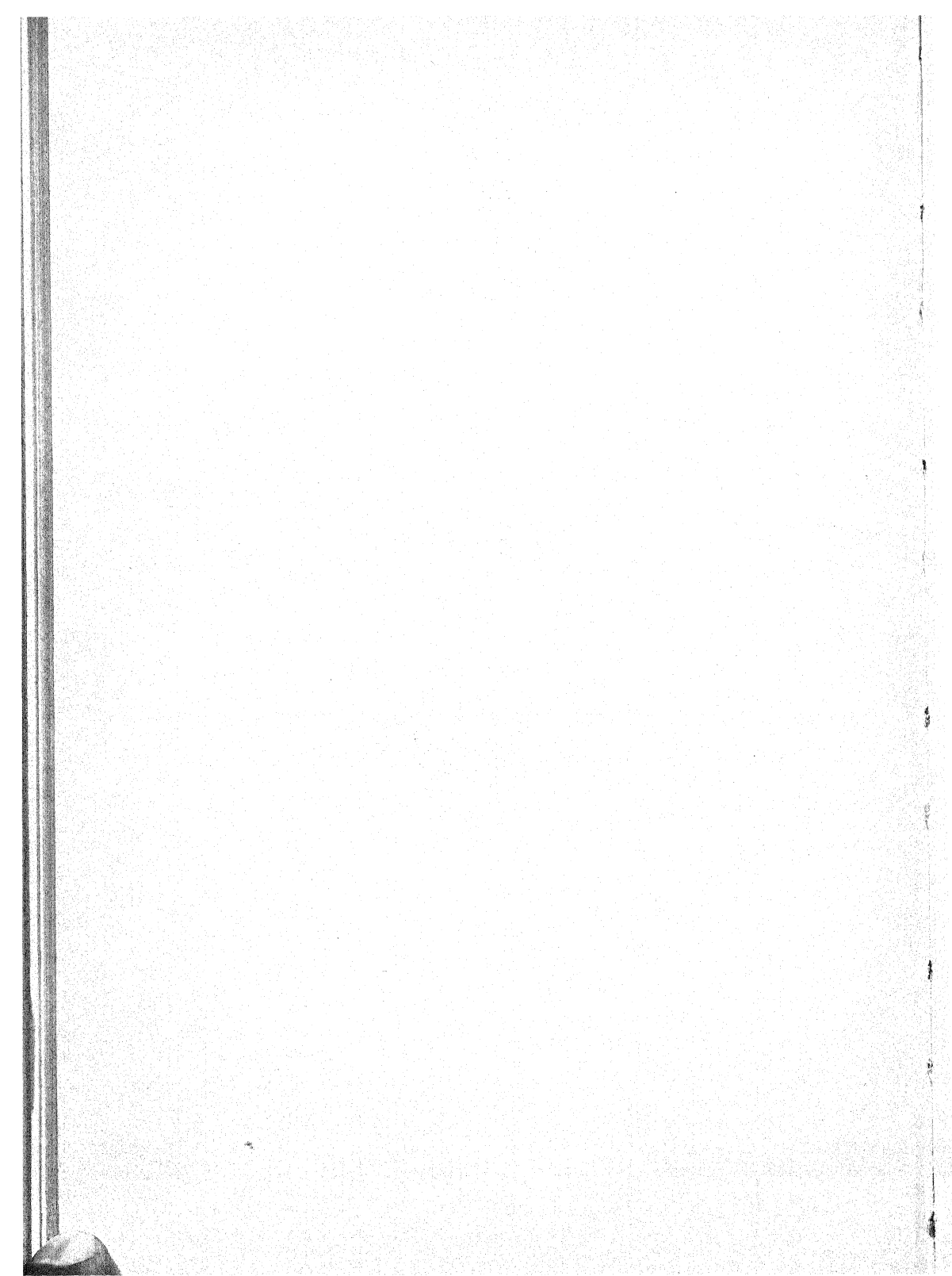
Once formed the group is prior to all individuals. Into groups all individuals are born; up through them personality emerges; and in turn persons dominate, and create more groups. The principle of group priority as conceived by the writer means that groups existed before any individual now living and that this priority of groups shooting forth powerful stimuli is overwhelming when their victims as helpless, human infants are considered.² At birth, the human infant is an inchoate mass of reflexes, impulses, sensitized protoplasm. Physically, psychically, socially helpless, he is ready to respond to elemental stimuli from persons, the spokesmen of groups. Not being able to creep, to walk, to talk, or to care for himself, he is at his greatest point of social need.

On the other hand look at what he is born into. There is his parental group with its formed language, its developed beliefs and ironclad rules of behavior, its political, economic, and religious convictions. Into this family group environment are fed streams of neighborhood, occupational, national, racial heritages,—some of them millennia old. Often these culture patterns are shot with superstitions and by myths mixed with truth but possessing all the force of the ages. Compare the antiquity, the organization, the power of these culture and group patterns with the weakness, naïveté, and susceptibility of the new-born babe.

Moreover, ancestors, generation before generation, were reared in groups, lived only as members of groups, under group control, and survived only within the limits of group protection. An infant thus is born into groups with a history and a civilization. If it were not for group trans-

¹ "The Group as an Instinct," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXVII: 340.

² See article by the writer in *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VII: 84-87.



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¹ "The Group as an Instinct," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXVII: 340.

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mission, the infant of to-day would have to begin in a far cruder, simpler way than the Neanderthal man began. Without the power that group transmission represents to buoy him up on the strong wings of civilization, he, or even the greatest genius, would not have had much of a chance.

Assuming that an infant could live outside of groups, how far would he develop? Suppose that from birth he could live as it is alleged Caspar Hauser lived, namely, by himself, with food being left for him by someone whom he never saw and with whom he did not communicate in any way. What would this individual, growing up remote from group life, be like at the age of twenty? What language would he speak? Would he wear clothes? Cook food? Live in a house? What would he think about?

According to W. B. Bodenhafer,³ the group may be conceived as a "higher relationship" than a person represents. He conceives of a person as a set of relationships, which is a part of a larger and more complex set of relationships, known as groups. A person is an outshoot of and integral part of group relationships.

Group superiority is evidenced by the countless ways that the young child is built to respond to stimuli from other persons. Darwin was one of the first to point out the omnipresent tendency of higher organisms to respond to social stimuli and implied thus that group stimuli are as significant as biological make-up. Animals which respond to group stimuli are at an advantage over those which rarely so react. The survival of the fittest means the survival of those who stick to group life.

Only individuals survive who respond to group stimuli; no others leave offspring. We are descended from a group-responding ancestry. During each infant's prolonged helplessness, his group-responding nature becomes organized. Most of his reactions against group rules are testimonies to the power of the group over him. All of his reactions in tune with group stimuli are evidences of group control.

Individuals vary in their group-responding mechanisms. Some respond almost automatically to the bidding of the group spokesman; they are of little use when their group is wrong and headed toward ruin. Other persons respond slowly to group stimuli, criticize all new group projects, and sometimes become nuisances. Sometimes a recalcitrant is wiser than his day and age.

He who proudly proclaims himself self made may be a mere pygmy tossing about on the vast billows of civilization. Since he has had the advantages of languages, literatures, inventions, cultures, that have taken ages to build and that have been transmitted through group continuity, he is far

³ "The Group as a Valid Concept," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII: 163.

more group made than self made. Give him all the credit that he is rightfully entitled to, and still his self made traits are but figments of the larger whole. Let him honestly take account of how he is family-group made, play-group made, school-group made, culture-group made; let him strip off all these acquisitions and view the puny remains. The sight need not discourage him for after humbling him enough to enable him to reach his greatest social efficiency, it may stimulate him to be more of an integer and less of a cipher, more of an initiator and less of parrot, "more of a voice and less of an echo."

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY GROUPS

It was Charles H. Cooley whose discussion of primary groups was of first magnitude. Cooley, quietly observing what was going on about him, saw with unusual clearness the dominant rôle played by the "primary groups" into which individuals are born and by which they are so largely made. Cooley then proceeded to present the rôle of what he called intermediate groups or non-face-to-face groups.⁴

Primary Groups. The primary group is "characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation," such as the family, play, and neighborhood groups. It is of primary importance because it is fundamental "in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual,"⁵ because the individual lives in the feelings of these primary groups, because from these he receives all of his direct social stimuli, because they furnish him with his regular, daily social contacts. He receives all these influences in his formative years; they play the major rôles when his personality is young, supple, mobile. His early life is spent almost entirely in primary groups. Standards of behavior are set up for him largely in these groups. His ideals are furnished him by them. His conscience is a reflection in large part of their impacts. His later success may depend upon maintaining primary group contacts.

One of our veteran city officials who has weathered many election campaigns in the teeth of the most hostile criticism from down-town organizations and newspapers, admits that the secret of his success is his large and cultivated acquaintance among neighborhood organizations. He never refuses an opportunity to discuss civic problems in neighborhood meetings any time throughout the year, and, he maintains acquaintances thus established are more lasting and have more political significance than all down-town campaign-hurrah-meetings put together.⁶

⁴ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (Scribners, 1909), Chs. III-V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶ R. D. McKenzie, "Community Forces," *Journal of Social Forces*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 561.

Moreover, a person worn and ill will respond to the voice of a primary group when all other calls go unheeded. Just the thought of the boyhood "neighbors" once brought a response from Daniel Webster when all other appeals failed.

There is an interesting and homely story of Daniel Webster, how after one very tedious and laborious session of the Senate he returned to his home in Boston quite worn out and told his servant that he was going upstairs to lie down, and must not be disturbed on any account. He had hardly reached his room when some gentlemen from the little village in New Hampshire which had been his original boyhood home, called at the door and said they must see him—that a man's life was involved. They had come down as the neighbors of a lad in his old home, charged, as they believed falsely with murder. They believed in the lad but were confounded by circumstantial evidence; and they thought that there was only one man in the United States who could unravel the tangle of misleading indications; and they had come to see Mr. Webster. The servant was afraid to call him but yielded to their urgency, and he came down in no pleasant humor. To all their appeals he replied, "Gentlemen, it is impossible; I am worn out. I am not fit for the service, and cannot go." Seeing at last that it was probably hopeless, the spokesman of the little company at last rose and said, "Well, I don't know what the neighbors will say." "Oh! Well," said Webster, "if it is the neighbors, I will go!" There came to his mind the vision of some little groups of old men in that village where he had lived as a boy whose comments he could surmise, and that was the particular condemnation he could not face. So all great patriots have had a deep local rootage.⁷

The parents who can choose the primary groups for their children to grow up in can forecast their children's future. The future of children is concealed not only in their inherited natures but also in the natures of their primary groups. To choose constructive and wholesome groups, or companions from such groups, is the grand strategy of parenthood.

Secondary Groups. Beyond the primary groups are the larger, intangible groups. Some of these come up to and enwrap the human individual. Hence in a limited way they possess face-to-face or primary group influence, but in the main they are composed of persons whom any given person rarely sees or cares much about. They rule by fickle public opinion, formal law, distant ideals. They include one's religious, political, occupational groups, castes, classes, the nation. Analyzing the functions of such groupings, Tarde⁸ and Sighele⁹ have evolved a classification which is used here but modified.

1. The *sect* is composed of groups of persons who may differ widely and who are scattered spatially, but who are united by a common ideal

⁷ "Robert E. Lee: An Interpretation." By Woodrow Wilson, *Jour. of Social Forces*, Vol. II, No. 3, March, 1924, p. 321.

⁸ *L'opinion et la foule* (Paris, 1901), pp. 177ff.

⁹ *Psychologie des sectes* (Paris, 1898), pp. 45ff.

and faith, such as a religious denomination or a political party. A sect, freed from its narrower religious meaning, is represented by propagandist groups in any field. A sect is likely to be intense and its leaders to be determined and courageous. Because of its feeling and emotion biases, and its intensiveness, a sect easily becomes narrow and intolerant.

2. The *caste* is a group set apart by occupation, wealth, legal privilege, or social responsibility so that its members do not associate with or marry outsiders. In India, the castes have reached a ludicrous development. In England, many of the wealthy have established virtual castes for themselves. In both illustrations, purity of race is maintained: in one case by general fiat of custom and tradition, and in the other by intracaste control.

Wealth establishes castes, which are exclusive except as outsiders acquire wealth. The hereditary rich caste, however, remains suspicious for a long time of "the new rich." The "Four Hundred" maintain a strict code which keeps out all except those who by wealth and the like can qualify, and which expects its membership to assume an air of superiority toward all outsiders, and which defies social democracy.

The older professions have developed a semblance of caste. Consider how difficult it is for a man to change from certain recognized professions to others, for example, what criticism falls upon the clergyman who changes to the bond business, upon the lawyer who shifts to brick laying, upon the teacher who becomes a butcher. It is disgraceful to change a so-called higher to a so-called lower calling, even though a person aspired too high in his first choice. It is sometimes questionable for a capable person past middle life to change from a "lower" to a "higher" calling. This inelasticity in public judgment probably has its merits.

3. The *class* is less precise in its limits but more "formidably belligerent" in its attitudes than the caste. Observe the outstanding class divisions of the day, such as the distinction between the laboring and capitalistic classes, with their bickerings, strifes, intrigues, and underlying hatreds. Sense of superiority and segregation characterize the "class." The rise of "blocs" in Congress illustrates well the competitive nature of classes as compared with the more non-competitive castes. With classes, conflict is "inter"; while with a caste, it is chiefly "intra." In old monarchical countries a class may become deeply entrenched in the custom and develop a caste-like nature.

4. The *state*, or nation, is the most extensive group organization with powerful prerogatives yet evolved. A state is characterized by common bonds of language, national values, and national prestige, with powers of life and death over its subjects. The natural development of the state

idea is now being urged in combinations of states, such as in a "United States of Europe," and then in a further organization of the combinations into a world group. An alternative movement started years ago in the rise of the League of Nations. The two movements will doubtless be integrated through time.

The Community. Underlying all primary and secondary groups is the *community*. Community means common attitudes, a common understanding of different attitudes, common social values, and communion.¹⁰ Community arises where a few congenial persons are gathered together. It is the essence of all primary groups and reaches out into secondary groups and gives them life. The larger the secondary group the more difficult it is to maintain community. In a city of millions, community of spirit grows thin, or not at all. The concept of world community is theoretically sound but practically remote.

In community, each individual not only develops opinions and attitudes like those of his fellows, but also becomes aware of his fellows' opinions and attitudes and acts continually in relation to these. New means of communication enable persons a thousand miles apart not only to feel and think alike, but far more important, to know that others at great distances are feeling and thinking in the same ways. It is this outstanding fact which distinguishes groups, even the largest groups, and makes them fascinating subjects of study.

A special theory of *communality* has been developed by Dr. B. A. McClenahan. She finds communality as an outgrowth of community. Communality is located wherever the means of transportation carry a person in his activities. It provides social contacts not limited spatially. "It is an activity circle."¹¹ It is a person's participation circle.

TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT GROUPS

Groups may be fleeting or lasting. Some people meet but once; others remain interlocked. There is a continual flux of forces in group life which break up group, makes groups over, blows them to pieces, crystallizes them into rocks of Gibraltar.

Temporary Groups. Much grouping is for the moment. A conversational group may consist of two strangers met by chance on a street corner, whose contracts may be limited to a few minutes of simple and perfunctory talk. Still these persons are not wholly "strangers"; they probably

¹⁰ Cf. R. M. MacIver, *Community* (Macmillan, 1928), Book III, Ch. III.

¹¹ B. A. McClenahan, *The Changing Nature of an Urban Neighborhood* (Univ. of Southern California, 1929), p. 108.

know one another's language, dress somewhat similarly, feel an elemental confidence in one another, and exhibit a mutually social spirit. Their conversation is made possible by the common elements in their human nature and experiences.

Temporary groups may spring up in feeling whirlpools, as in the case of the crowd,—the best known type of temporary grouping. The crowd, to be discussed at some length in the next chapter, is any number of persons in the physical presence of one another who have common objects of attention and who are governed more by their feelings than by careful thinking. Since feelings are easily excited, the crowd is easily turned into a mob, which seeks some person upon which to wreak vengeance; or into a panic, in which a frantic crowd rushes over and crushes its weaker members in its fear of catastrophe.

Temporary groups may be primarily rational, such as the *assembly*, where thoughtful behavior rather than feelings obtain. In an assembly ideas rather than feelings are in conflict. A classroom recitation, a scientific conference, a committee meeting are samples. Assemblies may easily degenerate into crowds or even into mobs; there is no clear line of demarcation. Occasionally United States senators may come to blows and create a pandemonium, or even a grave-mannered church congregation may be stampeded. If their members are wise enough, that is, if they exercise what Lester F. Ward called social telesis,¹² they may overcome disorganization and rise to a greater reorganization instead of dying. A wise group may stamp out its destructive tendencies before these eat out its heart.

There are at least fourteen different important types of permanent groups, including both primary and secondary groupings, ranging from an association of two persons by marriage to the world group. They include: the family group, the play group, the neighborhood group, the school group, the occupational group, the industrial group, the fraternal, the political and governmental, the religious, and then the more general types, such as the racial, the sex, and the human species groups.

*Instinctive and Purposive Groups.*¹³ Permanent groups vary from instinctive groups, such as those found among animals, for example, insect societies¹⁴ or preliterate peoples. The primitive horde and the family are less instinctive than a hive of bees or a nest of hornets. The modern family including courtship is partly instinctive, although it may develop high purpose. The modern state is hardly instinctive; Germany, England, and

¹² *Dynamic Sociology* (Appleton, 1915), I: 27ff.

¹³ J. M. Baldwin in *The Individual and Society* (Badger, 1911), pp. 36ff., classifies groups as instinctive, spontaneous, and reflective.

¹⁴ Cf. W. M. Wheeler, *Social Life Among the Insects* (Harcourt, Brace, 1923).

other nations have manifested a powerful purposiveness. Economic organizations, such as corporations and labor unions, are formed for definite purposes. Business, commercial, educational associations are strikingly telic although not always intelligent. Purposive groups may be self-centered and socially destructive or wholeheartedly altruistic. Nation groups are still largely self-centered, hence the difficulty of establishing a stable world organization.

*Congregate and Genetic Groups.*¹⁵ Congregate grouping is usually temporary, at least at the start. It results from the coming together of people from various directions for a specific purpose. In a larger sense congregate grouping results from immigration. Persons are attracted to some point because of reports of gold or oil discoveries, or the like, and set up primitive relationships. A congregate group is usually made up of foot-loose persons, impelled by wanderlust. Men generally preponderate; woman's refining influence is missing. The congregate group is likely to be unorganized, restless, anarchic, ruled by vigilance committees, since it is composed of individualistic pioneers.

The genetic group comes from births. It grows slowly; it is in danger of stagnating through absence of new stimuli, or of degenerating through inbreeding. It takes pride in status, feels self-sufficient, rests on its oars. It suffers from crusts of custom and tradition.

The ideal is both congregate and genetic with the latter predominating. The combination gives needed organization and new stimuli, stability and mobility. If organization is not stronger than new stimuli and mobility, then social gains are likely to be dissipated. If the preponderance is very great, however, mental interaction is likely to be paralyzed. Organization is needed for the maintenance of order. But organization and order may produce injustice unless free speech, a free press, fair play, good faith rule.

A variety of new elements are necessary for group mobility, because they make interaction lively, and create dynamic contacts. Too wide differences, however, do not integrate; they create explosions. Again the Aristotelian mean is essential and balance is needed here as elsewhere.

Group Origins. Permanent groups are outgrowths of temporary ones. A common order of development is: first, human needs; then a temporary organization, sometimes a committee to meet the needs; and then, if the needs continue, the evolution of a permanent social organization or institution. Out of countless temporary groups, permanent ones develop, storm-tossed on the sea of social change.

¹⁵ A classification developed by F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (Macmillan, 1896), pp. 81ff.

A permanent group, such as an occupational one, shows the following history: human needs, crude ways of meeting these needs, the invention of methods and tools, specialization in activities, the appearance of an occupational terminology, ethics, culture, organizations, admission bodies in case of the professions, both research and professional activities, sub-specializations, avocations.

Groups of all kinds are the products of common needs. The common need for food prompts wolves to hunt in packs; the common need for security explains why sheep graze in droves. The boy's "gang" exists where a boy's social needs are not adequately met in the family or the neighborhood. Groups originate in the prospect of increased efficiency. The idea is conveyed in the illustration of ten men working separately who make a chair apiece a day, but who when working together make a hundred chairs a day. Most people slowly learn that by putting away their egocentrisms and by working together, they can multiply results. A few grasp the idea before others do, and begin to organize their fellows, sometimes before the latter know what is happening.

Groups originate not only in common needs but in common centers where resources are available for meeting the needs. Rich, fertile valleys are elongated centers of the human race. Thrown together, within geographic and climatic limits, human beings develop complicated group machinery partly because there are so many of them together, partly to afford increased status to each, and partly in the struggle of some to dominate the rest.

GROUP QUOTIENTS ¹⁶

If the influence of a group upon the constituent members is great, it is important that that influence be measured. Since groups furnish persons with social stimuli, can such phenomena be measured in any significant way? As a simple beginning, a person might divide the amount of time he gives each week to each of the various groups in which he participates by the total amount of time he gives to all groups. The result would be a rough quantitative group quotient. By making such a computation at time intervals over a number of years, a person could learn something about the changes going on in his group contacts and stimuli. By selecting a large number of persons and finding out their group quotients for any particular group such as a church group, a family group, a social club group, it would be possible to work out quantitative norms,

¹⁶ The presentation of "group quotients" in this chapter will serve to call attention to research studies that may be made in this connection.

with which any person could compare his own quotient for that particular group.

F. Stuart Chapin has suggested finding out the average attendance of the members at the meetings of a group for a term of years, the distribution and average financial support given by the members, the active participation by each member on committees, on how many committees, for how many years, and active committee chairmanships of the members as a basis for measuring personal relationship to group life.¹⁷ He advances this hypothesis: "There is a direct correlation between the number of groups that the average person may belong to and the intensity of his participation in each group activity as indicated by such objective facts as regularity of attendance, membership on committees, and financial support."

The suggestion is also made by Dr. Chapin that group participation for each person has its *saturation point*. This saturation rests upon a person's range of elasticity for group participation. It would be decidedly advantageous if each person could know what his own group saturation point is, and plan his engagements accordingly. How many groups of a given size and function can a person participate in without breaking down his efficiency? Here is a vast, vital field for social analysis and measurement.

Qualitative group quotients would be more worth while but more difficult to obtain. Perhaps the qualitative factors would resolve themselves into the quantitative. An approach might be made by determining a rating for each of the rôles that a person plays in a group, ranging from passive to active membership and from committee work to serving as president or leader. His individual efficiency in any of these capacities would need to be rated by competent associates. The type of work and the efficiency of work could thus be reduced to quantitative terms which when averaged with the amount would give basic figures for determining a significant group quotient for a person. If enough of such group quotients could be obtained a norm could be established against which each person could measure his own group quotient.

Another group quotient that is needed is one showing the quality of social contacts and stimuli afforded a person by each of his groups. A person then could compare one group with another and have a basis for evaluating or changing his group membership. The relationships between a person's intelligence quotient and his group quotient would be revealing, and constitute another important field of research.

¹⁷ F. Stuart Chapin, "Leaders and Group Activity," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII: 141-45.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Group life enables human individuals to survive and furnishes the stimuli whereby they develop into persons.
2. The prolongation of infancy under group protection and stimulation reduces the need for instincts and magnifies the rôle of acquired behavior patterns.
3. According to the principle of group priority the matured group become the teacher of each helpless infant.
4. Through groups cultures are transmitted, thus freeing each person from having to start anew at the beginning of civilization.
5. The face-to-face or primary group exerts the greatest influence on developing human beings.
6. New means of communication have created powerful secondary groups without physical presence.
7. Groups are either congregate or genetic but generally both.
8. Groups range from the passing and temporary to the stable and relatively permanent.
9. Permanent groups vary from the purely instinctive to the highly purposive.
10. The essence of group life is communion of attitudes and activities.

PROBLEMS

1. Define *group*.
2. Define *social group*.
3. Define *primary group*.
4. Distinguish between *primary* and *secondary* groups.
5. Why are persons immeasurably indebted to group transmission?
6. How has group life made prolongation of infancy possible?
7. Explain the term "a group-made person."
8. How far do you consider yourself group-made and how far self-made?
9. How far would you say that Abraham Lincoln was group-made and how far self-made?
10. How are genetic groups strong? weak?
11. How are congregate groups strong? weak?
12. From the standpoint of group-growth what is the best proportion between genetic and congregate factors?
13. What percentage of your groups did you enter by personal choice?
14. What is the difference between *sect* and *class*.
15. How may castes arise in a democracy?
16. How can you estimate the amount of social consciousness existing in a group?
17. What is meant by a person's group quotients?

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CHAPTER XXV

CROWDS AND MOBS

OF all groups the crowd is best known and in a way the most interesting. Crowds are whirlpools of group life. They are effervescent centers of a common affective nature. Wherever a few persons are gathered together crowd conditions exist. Where large cities develop and means of transportation multiply, crowds are common, energy-consuming, and reckless.

A crowd develops out of a heterogeneous group, that is, out of a number of persons with diverse aims. A throng at a busy street corner constitutes a heterogeneous group; they have varied purposes and are going in different directions.¹ In a railroad station heterogeneity prevails except as people collect in crowds, waiting to get through the same gate. Such crowds easily degenerate at times into mobs, jamming through to get the best seats in the waiting train. After the trains depart the human whirlpools disappear and heterogeneity again reigns.

The crowd is a heterogeneous group grown homogeneous. Its members have common aims at the time; each is aware that the others are being stirred similarly. Homogeneity vibrates in terms of common feelings. A crowd is a homogeneous group whose members are in the physical presence of each other and who are intensely displaying their feelings around a common theme.

CROWD BEHAVIOR

Crowds act quickly via the feelings, but via reason exceptionally if at all, for feeling tends to submerge reason. Crowds are passionate, and hence reversionary. At times to prevent a crowd from turning to low levels of behavior is well-nigh impossible. It is easier not to let a crowd form at all than to try to stop it from reverting.

I attended a hockey game not long ago with a group of friends who are very mild mannered and as a rule perfect gentlemen. In the the course of the evening two of the players became angry and started hitting each other with their sticks. The spectators whom one would suppose would not care for this sort of thing, became very excited and began to yell to the fighters to keep it up and hit harder. When the referee intervened the crowd showed its dis-

¹ See E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), Ch. III.

approval by shouting insults at him. Ordinarily these same people would be disgusted at the sight of two humans hitting each other in this brutal manner but under the excitement of the game and with the aid of the crowd their attitude changed.²

A crowd of human beings is closely related to a herd of cattle, a covey of birds, a shoal of fish. There are the same standard responses to danger signals, the same casual leadership, the same stampeding. From the behavior of animal herds, one learns much about human crowds.

Without a *leader* the crowd is bewildered. In times of danger its members move frantically until a leader appears. A bleacher crowd of college students is helpless without a yell leader. If none is present, calls are made for one, demanding that someone stand out and take charge. When a crowd is to do something it is helpless if leaderless. Various persons are singled out with the command: "You lead."

A heightened state of suggestibility is characteristic of a crowd. The preponderance of feelings over reason heightens suggestibility. The excitement that frequently prevails in a crowd throws persons off their guard. The force of numbers is overwhelming. Time for reflecting and judging is wanting. Only a part of each person is functioning, and that one-sidedly. Custom and convention are not in control; decorum is not in charge. A crowd means "a chance to yell."

Anonymity is another crowd characteristic. The ordinary person in a crowd feels that he can do most anything and "get away with it." His sense of responsibility shrinks. He feels that since he is only one of a large number, he does not count for much, and grows reckless. Crowd anonymity reaches out into the large corporate group or the nation group.

Speech is restricted in a crowd. Anyone who speaks against the prevailing aims is hooted. A crowd of capitalists will refuse to listen to the harangue of a communist; and a crowd of communists will not take supinely the lashing of a capitalist. A crowd, not being able to reason much, cannot be expected to allow much freedom of speech.

Crowds are *egotistic*. Listen to the ordinary song of a crowd and its self-centered nature fairly screams at you. The refrain may often be boiled down to a simple, insipid, egotistic chant: "Who are we, who are we, we are it." The crowd sings its own praises, and glories in doing so; but if an individual were to brag, the crowd would soon ostracize him. Whenever a crowd "yells," it often applauds itself vigorously, especially if it be directed by an experienced yell leader. The ease with which a crowd applauds itself testifies to its egotism.

² From ms. by R. E.

Crowds are fickle. Napoleon appreciated this changeableness. "Your majesty," exclaimed an aide-de-camp on one occasion, "hear the crowds cheering for you." Without smiling Napoleon is reported to have replied, "They would cheer just as loudly if I were going to the guillotine." The football crowd that cheers an opposing team one moment is quick to "boo" the next moment.

Unreasoning crowds are easily turned hither and thither by any "catchy" slogan. Crowd feelings rarely have stability. It is difficult to predict crowd developments. Whatever else a crowd may do, it is likely to be fleeting. It is dependable to be fickle.

Moreover, decisions made by persons wholly in a crowd are rarely reliable. A person who makes an important decision while under the influence of the crowd, has a struggle before him, unless it happens to be in line with his behavior patterns. A decision made in a crowd is likely to be feeling-made, and a person who arrives at a decision under such circumstances will later need all the support that he can get from helpful and encouraging associates—until he can develop a stock of behavior patterns to support the decision.

More wild enthusiasm for a given project can be created in a crowd than anywhere else. Such enthusiasm, however, often vanishes quickly, for it lacks depth. The reaction that follows, moreover, is debilitating. After the World War ended and the enthusiasm for democracy, much of which was crowd-made, died down, the reaction in our country toward greed, self-centered living, and arrogance was shameful.

When Josey declares that "the members of a crowd, animated by a common purpose, seem lifted up and ennobled by a power that is not purely their own,"³ he forgets that crowds are often narrow and destructive. This statement by Josey needs to be put alongside of LeBon's characterization of crowds as low-grade and dangerous.

Crowd contagion may be good or evil, according to what is "caught." "It is bad to 'catch' disease, but not bad to 'catch' good health. All depends on what is caught." Catching social visions is good as far as it goes, but it is not enough unless supported by behavior patterns.

To get people together in a crowd offers a quick way to unify them. But the charlatan and mountebank are likely to manipulate people through crowd influence, whereas the cultivated man confines himself to addressing assemblies. The educated person who tries to harangue a crowd belittles himself.

Usually a banquet develops the crowd spirit; feasting together pro-

³ *Race and National Solidarity* (Scribner's, 1923), p. 101.

duces good feeling and a jovial mood. When joyous feelings are running high, toastmasters and speakers selected beforehand appear and propose a campaign, call for subscriptions, and "sign up" the feasters. Moreover, the guests would consider themselves ingrates if they refused to respond to a request from their host.

Many crowd evils arise from crowd rivalry. In a contest in which one crowd is pitted against another, crowd contagion boils up. One crowd strives to outdo its rival, not necessarily because of genuine interest in its goal, but for the sake of "victory" and of consequent opportunities to "crow" over the defeated. The victorious crowd in an athletic or political contest takes unconcealed satisfaction in exultation and in gloating egotism.

SPECTATOR AND PARTICIPATOR CROWDS

Crowds may be either spectators or participants. The spectator crowd goes wild at times but on the whole is less dangerous than a participator crowd. Spectators become dangerous when they swarm off the sidewalks or bleachers and become participant.

The Spectator Crowd. The spectator crowd may be either single or double minded; it may be either unitary or bipartizan. An athletic contest brings out two gigantic spectator crowds. If the contest is close, the members of both crowds will likely revert to blind and almost savage partizanship—forgetting that the basic thing after all in an athletic contest is to afford physical training and development of skill. The evils of intercollegiate athletics thrive partly because spectator crowds demand victory at any cost. There would be no intercollegiate football were it not for the presence of spectators—hence the responsibility of spectators is great. If the evil influences of crowd contagion cause students literally to look down upon and despise other colleges, to commit marauding expeditions, to keep up a running fire of insult, then athletics and education alike have been profaned.⁴

Automobiles and good roads are multiplying spectator crowds. The newspaper, telegraph, and radio spread announcements, making possible the temporary grouping on short notice of thousands. Colleges and cities are tearing down their stadiums and building bigger ones. One of twenty thousand capacity is supplanted by one seating a hundred thousand or more. Automobile races and football games bring together multitudes. Large cities create propinquity and gigantic crowds.

⁴For a stirring description of the spectator and his problems see "Social Psychology of the Spectator," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XVIII: 33-50.

Speed of living and multiplied stimuli cut down opportunities to reflect, dim reasoning, and magnify crowd emotion. Urban soil is a hot-bed for crowd and crowd life. The social problem of the day is what to do with "the growing habit of behaving as crowds." Propagandists and partizans create crowd spirit until "our society is becoming a veritable babel of gibbering crowds."⁵

The spectator crowd is partly a misnomer. Spectators are generally participants. The spectator crowd on bleachers takes part by yelling or "booing"; the spectators before the footlights, by applauding or hissing. If a loyal college student will attend a football rally and maintain himself aloof as "a cold spectator," he will be surprised at his attitudes.

At the last college rally I sat and tried to view the event as a spectator and to forget such things as school spirit in its popularly conceived interpretation. Viewed from this standpoint, the rally to me lost all interest and was in reality disgusting. Thus it seems that if the audience at a rally were spectators rather than participants, the rally would be what is collectively called a "flop."⁶

Participator Crowds. The participator crowd is a group of people acting together under tension to reach a specific goal. Usually a participator crowd is temporary, as in the case of a religious revival or in the many kinds of mobs. It may become permanent, continually exhibiting crowd traits, as is done by a "gang," or by a "clique."

A religious revival is a participator crowd keyed up to a high pitch. Expectancy is aroused by the evangelist's reputation. The singing and prayer bring people into a feeling of unity. Crowd contagion is developed by the speaker's appeals. His references to mother, home, and heaven bring up emotional reminiscences. Sympathy, tenderness, sentiments of olden days are stimulated, and then the appeal is clinched in the name of religion, and decisions are made and converts announced.⁷

Most writers on the psychology of the revival agree that crowd contagion and suggestion are fundamental.⁸ Often the evangelist is not aware that he is utilizing these forces. The real function of the revival is not that of securing sudden conversions, but rather that of bringing crowd conditions to bear upon persons and of urging them to make decisions that inertia or counter tendencies would prevent. Although a per-

⁵ For further elaboration of this theme, see E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), Ch. III, and *Foundations of Sociology* (Macmillan, 1905), Ch. V.

⁶ From ms. by H. H.

⁷ "Most religious conversions are accomplished by the crowd," says E. D. Martin, *The Behavior of Crowds*, p. 86.

⁸ See F. M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals* (Macmillan, 1910); and G. A. Coe, *The Spiritual Life* (Curtis and Jennings, 1900), pp. 141-46.

son ordinarily refuses to heed "the still small voice of conscience and God," crowd conditions may be effective.

Gangs. The gang is a permanent kind of participator crowd. It has such elemental and primitive traits that it becomes a roaming crowd. Its subservience to a leader, its use of "might" to determine "right," its fickleness, its inconsistencies—all these are crowd traits. It is slippery because it is a primitive group trying to survive in an environment of law and order. It has to fight for its life because it is a reversion to outworn behavior principles. Its members shuttle back and forth between primitive and modern behavior. When hard pressed the gang resorts to mob action. It easily becomes a brute with its back against a wall, gnashing its teeth, and recognizing no social standards or responsibility.

Cliques. The clique also exemplifies crowd tendencies. It is a permanent organization with narrow purpose. It is human feelings integrated into prejudices and irrationalities. The members take pride in foolish lingo, in upholding nonsense formulae. Boys form gangs and girls specialize on cliques or on "our set." The clique or "set" has no formal organization and no elected leader. "The set (or clique) snubs its rivals; the gang fights them."⁹ The lack of organization in a clique is because it is negative, instead of being positive like a boys' gang.¹⁰ A clique is noteworthy because certain persons are excluded from it. It has "no positive mission of accomplishment like the gang which sets out to rob orchards, fight other gangs, and so on." Its appeal lies "in offering an intimacy from which others are excluded."¹¹ It is more self-centered than a gang, more subtle, and more introverted.

Fraternities and sororities are prone to degenerate into cliques. They become so interested in their own affairs that they grow snobbish. A number of fraternities and sororities hobnobbing together may disgrace not only themselves but even their college or university.

I recall one occasion in particular when I entered the ballroom with high expectations of a good time, and left completely bedraggled. The occasion was the junior prom. My expectations were absolutely normal. The elements which changed my particular attitudes toward the particular dance were: first, an unbearable degree of snobbery on the part of the fraternity and sorority groups; and second, a sham formality which made one fall over backward in attempting to comply with it. Snobbery, when exhibited by the members of fraternities and sororities, is opposed to everything that is just and kindly in society. The formality of the occasion failed to meet the recognized standards of society, and in many cases was inconsistent with itself. As a result of these

⁹ J. A. Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang* (Houghton Mifflin, 1912), p. 74.

¹⁰ Pointed out by E. A. Ross in an unpublished manuscript.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

aforementioned elements, I left the scene of the particular junior prom. completely disgusted with what is supposed to be the outstanding social event of the year.¹²

MOBS

Of all participator crowds the mob is the most spectacular. It is not necessarily composed of ignorant or essentially wicked persons, but is sometimes comprised of ordinarily intelligent persons who for the time being have resigned their personal standards. Ruffians usually start mobs and play prominent rôles, with the educated and respectable persons being sucked into the maelstrom. The mob is a monster, possessing gigantic power that throbs through its entire being. When its pent-up forces are released they act ruthlessly and irresponsibly.

A mob is a crowd in a very high state of suggestibility. It is characterized by frenzied behavior. It is a crowd that has become frantic. The term *mob* is from the same root word as *mobile*, the medieval phrase was *mobile vulgus*; it designates a crowd that is highly mobile, and that easily shifts its attention.

The ease with which a crowd may be turned into a mob on a moment's notice is significant. William McDougall, for example, witnessed in Borneo a crowd of 5000 primitives suddenly turned into an angry mob of uncontrollable fury:

Representatives of all the tribes of a large district of Sarawak had been brought together by the resident magistrate for the purpose of strengthening friendly relations and cementing peace between the various tribes. All went smoothly, and the chiefs surrounded by their followers were gathered together in a large hall, rudely constructed of timber, to make public protestations of friendship. An air of peace and good will pervaded the assembly, until a small piece of wood fell from the roof upon the head of one of the leading chiefs, making a slight wound from which the blood trickled. Only the immediate neighbors of this chief observed the accident or could perceive its effects; nevertheless in the space of a few seconds a wave of angry emotion swept over the whole assembly, and a general and bloody fight would have at once commenced, but that the Resident had insisted upon all weapons being left in the boats on the river 200 yards away. The great majority of the crowd rushed headlong to fetch their weapons from their boats, while the few who remained on the ground danced in fury or rushed to and fro gesticulating wildly. Happily the boats were scattered along the banks of the river, so that it was possible for the Resident, by means of persuasion, threats, and a show of armed force, to prevent the hostile parties coming together again with their weapons in hand.¹³

Mobs are groups that frantically rush toward or attempt to escape from an object or person. They are motivated by hate or fear. In the first

¹² From ms. by L. S.

¹³ *The Group Mind* (Putnam, 1920), pp. 37, 38.

case, the group rushes *toward* somebody; in the second, *away from* something. The first is illustrated by a lynching mob, a pogrom, witchcraft persecutions, political and industrial riots; the second, by panics. Crazes, manias, and orgies are modifications of mob behavior.

Lynchings. A lynching mob may develop after an arresting offense of some enormity by some individual. Basic is the feeling that the courts will move too slowly, that the guilty party may escape legal punishment. The offense is generally a personal one against the body of the victim. The mob spirit arises out of enraged feelings, demands a leader, and multiplies greatly under crowd contagion. The alleged offender is hunted like a dog and when caught is given no quarter. At this point the pent-up and rampant mob feelings burst with cyclonic fury upon their victim. All reason flees and nothing remains but brute force gloating over its prey, and vengeance. The sight of the alleged culprit and even his agonies under torture, act as stimuli to more fiendish deeds.

Ku Klux Klan activities easily degenerate into mob rule. The Klan in resorting to night riding and to the hood gives each member an anonymity which furthers irresponsible conduct. The tool which the Klan uses is intimidation which is psychologically dangerous and unamenable to reason. It creates fear and panic. The purposes of the Klan, thus, are doubly subject to mob abuse. As soon as the Klan begins pursuit of an "enemy," it easily develops the traits of a lynching mob.

Pogroms. The pogrom is a race riot peculiar to Slavic countries. In Poland and the Ukraine the Jews once occupied a middle ground between the poverty-stricken peasants beneath and the autocratic nobility above. They lived in constant fear of mob rioting on the part of the peasants who blindly blamed their distress upon the people immediately above them. The wealthy had used the Jews to squeeze the last penny from the peasants until the latter at times became frantic. The wealthy as a rule escaped blame for their oppressions.

Pogroms have broken upon the Jews with the fury of a tornado. Without warning, Jewish property has been destroyed, Jewish homes burned, the women ravaged, the aged and the children killed. Mutilations and atrocities beyond description have been committed. In a few days the storm passes, the terror-stricken survivors make the best of their condition, and the peasants return to their accustomed tasks as though nothing unusual had occurred. Mary Antin in referring to children being torn limb from limb before their mothers' eyes, and to other atrocities says: "People who saw such things never smiled any more, no matter

how long they lived; and sometimes their hair turned white in a day, and some people became insane on the spot."¹⁴

Race riots in the United States between whites and colored are modified pogroms. Frequently these riots are preceded by reports of an attack upon a white woman or girl by a colored man, and then the mob fury breaks. The mob usually lasts until the alleged offender has been caught and dealt with summarily. Widespread riots are illustrated by the outbreak in 1917 in East St. Louis which lasted five or six days, creating panic, destruction of property, and homicide. The Chicago riot of July 27 to August 2, 1919, was unusual in that it was not preceded by reports of attacks on white women. A clash between the whites and blacks on the shore of Lake Michigan at 29th Street included stone-throwing, the drowning of a Negro boy, and the refusal of a policeman to arrest a white man accused by Negroes of stoning the boy.

Within two hours the riot was in full sway, had scored its second fatality, and was spreading throughout the south and southwest parts of the city. . . . (It) swept uncontrolled through parts of the city for four days. By August 2 it had yielded to the forces of law and order, and August 8 the state militia withdrew. . . . Of the thirty-eight killed, fifteen were whites and twenty-three Negroes; of 537 injured, 178 were whites, 342 were Negroes, and the race of seventeen was not recorded.¹⁵

In the race riot instigated by Americans against Filipinos at Watsonville, California, January 20 to 23, 1930, the rôle of ruffians, pool-hall hangers-on, was most prominent. They objected to the attentions that Filipino youths were paying to white girls, to the Filipinos dancing with white girls, and were aided and abetted by an extensive race prejudice against "Orientals." Moreover, the whites were moved to act against the Filipinos because the latter were being employed by American farmers to do work that most of them would not perform, such as "stoop labor" in the fields. At first the Filipinos fought back but soon saw the futility of such action. The rioting covered four nights, began with stone-throwing and fist-fights and ended in the shooting of a Filipino boy. Hoodlums began the actual rioting but drew many of the better class into the fray. The leading citizens of Watsonville finally came to the rescue of their city and put an end to the lawlessness. A little lawlessness the first night grew into murder and international notoriety. One of the Watsonville newspapers said:

¹⁴ *The Promised Land* (Houghton Mifflin, 1912), p. 8.

¹⁵ Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 1. This document, it may be added, is exceedingly valuable for studying the social psychology of mob action in all its phases, and for studying public opinion in race relations.

After the disgraceful scenes of last evening, local authorities should come to the conclusion that patience has ceased to be a virtue and that strenuous measures should be adopted to prevent any further demonstrations of that character.

It is anything but inspiring in this year of our Lord, 1930, to witness a mob of some 400 or 500 individuals attacking a dozen or so frightened Filipinos, rushing into their houses, dragging them out, beating them up, and then wrecking or damaging their domiciles. This is not Americanism.¹⁶

Beneath race riots and pogroms race prejudices run rampant. No adequate social controls have been devised to meet biases and ill-will that have long been smoldering. In a sense, a race riot, as distinguished from a lynching, never comes suddenly. Vesuvius-like, it always gives warning.

Witchcraft Persecutions. The burning of witches at the stake illustrates mob violence of the worst sort. It is usually perpetrated under conditions of superstition and ignorance, and hence its viciousness is not strange. A person, no matter how innocent, if singled out as a witch, becomes at once the victim of public vengeance. The stimulus was often religious, for the witch was considered the servant of Satan and hence one to be destroyed.

Political and Industrial Mobs. Political and industrial mobs are usually composed of people battling for a principle. Their sense of injustice has been provoked into anger. Crowd contagion does the rest. The storming of the Bastille in 1789 was done by a mob expressing a public desire for social, economic, and political justice.¹⁷

Industrial mobs, likewise, have generally represented a principle, a desire for more power, a demand for bread and justice. Like political mobs they are often led by agitators and composed of uneducated people mad with rage at mistreatment.

Mobs have a way of defying government. Mobs are often groups that have taken government for the time being into their own hands. A lynching mob is especially powerful. Take the case, for example, of the lynching that occurred January 12, 1931, at Maryville, Missouri. According to the Associated Press "no attempt was made to stop the lynching and the mob met little resistance in taking the Negro from the officers," despite the fact that a field artillery unit had been mobilized and was ready "to cope with possible mob action, but waited at the armory while the lynching was in progress." It is understood that they were waiting for an official request from the sheriff for assistance but that no such request came.

¹⁶ *Watsonville Register*, January 24, 1930, p. 1.

¹⁷ See Carlyle's *French Revolution*, Book V, Ch. VII.

Panics. In a panic the attempt is to escape danger. Elementally a panic is best illustrated by a stampede of wild horses or elephants.¹⁸ In the Iroquois Theater disaster in Chicago in 1903, the cry of "Fire" and the sight of smoke sent a multitude toward the few exits; persons piled up, trampling down and smothering those beneath to death, to the number of six hundred. Fear caused respectable men to climb over helpless women and children until the exits became blocked with jumbled and dying humanity.

The panic group is often composed of persons who are chiefly strangers to each other. The security urge is stimulated by a wild emotional contagion but not offset by any sense of social responsibility; hence, there is utter disregard for human lives. In a panic everybody is struck simultaneously with the acutest attack possible of self-protection. Napoleon was correct when he instructed his officers to tell their men of danger beforehand in a quiet, non-exaggerated way thus enabling them to steel themselves against fear and to withstand panic.

THE MOB CURVE

In mobs where anger rules, there is a mob curve. The curve rises irregularly until the objective of the mob is reached. It hovers at a dizzy height of brutal vengeance until it has wreaked its will on its victims after which it falls rapidly, almost perpendicularly. The panic curve is similar; it suddenly falls when the danger is over. In the mob curve the effects of group contagion are evident. When the contagion bubble bursts, the mob spirit flattens out.

The problem of *controlling mobs* is similar to that of controlling fire. It is easier to prevent them than to check them once they have gained momentum. A mob in full fury will not listen to reason; it can be stopped only by force, by tear bombs, by bayonets and shrapnel. The problem is really that of controlling the generating conditions. By preventing injustice and by furthering justice the forming of mobs may be prevented.

Human beings who are educated to self control, who have built socialized attitudes, and who assume social responsibilities in orderly ways are generally immune against mob contagion. By anticipating problems of injustice and solving them promptly and rationally, communities may safeguard themselves against mob rule. With scientific methods of handling social problems, with freedom for the development of personality, and with a socialized atmosphere, the mob curse disappears entirely.

¹⁸ See William McDougall, *The Group Mind* (Putnam, 1920), pp. 36-39.

CRAZES

Manias and crazes are special forms of mob behavior. In the case of a mania people are aroused to want the same thing at the same time. A bargain counter sale often generates into a mob in which the belief is current that the number of the desired objects is less than the number of purchasers. In "a run on the bank" a panic fear of not getting their money rules people. When the supply of money is thought to be less than the demand, social responsibility diminishes and personal security dominates.

The craze in particular is novelty borne on the wings of excitement. Under the overwhelming spell of excitement, many people will temporarily adopt almost any irrational scheme. If the necessary excitement can be created, suggestion knows no limit. Strangely enough finance and religion are the hot-beds of suggestion-excitement. These realms are opposites, the material versus the spiritual, and yet at times suggestion-excitement has made both ridiculous.

Financial speculation and gambling have especially offended in creating craze whirlpools. The morning newspaper contains quarter page advertisements of oil wells that "are about to produce." The drills are going down, oil has been struck on adjoining property, and the prices of shares are advancing rapidly. Within five days the price will positively rise from three to five cents. In fact, I am informed that a gusher may be struck at any moment, whereupon the value of the stock will surpass the most sanguine expectations, and I, if I own sufficient shares, will find myself a millionaire! An "uninterested" business man telephones that he has wired a purchase, and that I can make no mistake if I do as he has done. The excitement and the prospect unsteadies my pen and sends my thoughts racing through "air castles in Spain." And then I remember how many drills have never reached oil, how many persons have invested their hard-earned savings in oil and lost, how little I really know about the proposed investment and the specific oil conditions, how these wells are more than a thousand miles distant, in fact, too far away for me to investigate them. My excitement subsides and equipoise returns as I continue with this chapter.

The real estate boom is a special type of financial craze. Something happens to create an economic interest, such as the building of a new railroad, or perhaps merely a new subdivision is projected in a population-increasing district. A situation is set up so that a few selected persons double their money in buying and selling lots. The excitement leaps.

Everyone wants to buy lots for the sake of selling again. The first effect is to increase greatly the number of buyers, and the effect of this is to send the price still higher. These buyers, as a consequence, also make money rapidly. . . . So long as buyers are increasing faster than sellers, prices continue to go up; but when the buyers become less numerous than the sellers, which must inevitably happen, prices begin to fall. Suddenly, everyone becomes a seller, and there are no buyers at all. Stagnation, depression, bankruptcy, and general ruin ensue.¹⁹

As the greatest financial craze was that which occurred about 1720 when the slow-moving, conservative English mind was seized with the excitement generated by the South Sea Company, so probably the greatest religious craze was known as Millerism, which developed in the United States between 1840 and 1845. William Miller went about preaching that the end of the world would catastrophically occur at a given date. He secured thousands of followers who, upon the appointed day, donned their ascension robes and went out into the open fields. Although the end of the world did not occur at the appointed time, a new date was set, and the followers of the false prophet ultimately established a new religious sect.

PROPOSITIONS

1. A crowd is a homogeneous social group motivated by common feelings.
2. In a crowd feelings easily run high, reason is submerged, a leader is demanded, a heightened state of suggestibility exists, freedom of speech is taboo, wild enthusiasm may be aroused, and fickleness is likely to be exhibited.
3. Crowds are either spectator or participator groups.
4. Participator groups may give way to anger and become a mob, or to fear and create a panic.
5. Multiplication of means of communication and increased facility of transportation make crowd formation easy.
6. A craze is a group moved by excitement to seek a certain end.
7. The mob curve rises by rapid degrees to a giddy height where it hangs until the mob is appeased, and then it falls abruptly.
8. The best way to control a mob is to prevent it by means of social justice and fair play.

PROBLEMS

1. Why does the crowd generally have a leader?
2. Why is a person's individuality melted in a dense throng?
3. Why is the crowd ephemeral?
4. Explain: A crowd is recidivistic?
5. Why is the crowd irrational?
6. Why does a crowd refuse to tolerate freedom of speech?
7. Are the people in a railroad station a heterogeneous or a homogeneous crowd?

¹⁹ T. N. Carver, *Principles of National Economy* (Ginn, 1921), p. 434.

8. Why do feelings run through a crowd more easily than ideas?
9. In order to unify people why is it usually necessary to touch the chord of feeling?
10. Explain: "In a psychological crowd people are out of themselves."
11. What are the differences between a spectator crowd and a participator crowd?
12. What are the advantages of organized cheering? the disadvantages?
13. Is a holiday jam in a railroad station a mob?
14. If you have been in a mob, what was your experience?
15. Where can the blame for mob action justly be placed?
16. What are the best means of calming a lynching mob?
17. What is the best way to prevent a panic in case of fire?
18. Is the social psychology of a mob of Hottentots the same as the social psychology of a mob of college professors?
19. Is a vote taken at a mass meeting a genuinely democratic act?

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CHAPTER XXVI

ASSEMBLIES AND PUBLICS

THE assembly differs noticeably from a crowd, for it is a group of people in which thought rather than feelings is the common bond. The assembly, therefore, is one of the valuable theaters of intersocial stimulation. Like the crowd it varies in size from the casual meeting of two persons to an orderly legislative assembly or a deliberative forum. Its best size is smaller than that of crowds. When an assembly grows large it easily develops crowd traits. A university seminar of fifteen graduate students is one of the best types of assemblies.¹

ASSEMBLY BEHAVIOR

An assembly is characterized by restraint and thoughtfulness. It rarely rises to its full possibilities, for in one direction it is pulled toward crowd behavior with feelings in the saddle; in the other, its restraint, ideas, and numbers paralyze many of its members so that they remain poker-faced, for fear that they will make an intellectual blunder and lose status. When the struggle between ideas becomes keen, feelings are almost certain to flare out, and a crowd condition develop. An assembly is subject to reversion at any moment to a crowd or even to a mob. Although in an assembly persons are under parliamentary rules yet these may be broken, opprobrious names be used, and anger flare up.

The parliamentary rules that govern assemblies have been compared to a strait-jacket upon a monster which is in constant danger of breaking loose.² Rules of order keep feeling down and reason in charge. Personal remarks are taboo, in order that feeling contagion may be prevented. The chair must always be addressed, so that speech shall be centered. The voting shall be aye and nay—a relatively colorless way

¹ An assembly and an audience are terms that may be used interchangeably. Kimball Young in *Social Psychology* (Knopf, 1930), Ch. XXII, discusses "The Psychology of the Audience," but uses the term audience in almost the same sense as "assembly" is used here. Both terms involve the same phenomena, although assembly refers primarily to coming together and an audience to listening. Neither term is entirely satisfactory.

² E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908), p. 57.

of expressing foaming prejudices. Order must at all times be observed, for the best way to stop disorder is to prevent it.

Parliamentary rules at best are brittle; they easily snap. Let one man contradict another sharply and the two may rush together with clenched fists and angry shouts, even though the assembly be a national Chamber of Deputies. Let the smell and sight of smoke and the piercing cry of fire enter a crowded church and the solemn assembly will burst the bonds of propriety, custom, and reverence, and attempt to fight its way out, trampling the old and young under foot.

At the other extreme there is the fact that in most assemblies most of the members do not take part.³ In the United States Senate, an epic speech may be addressed to a chamber of empty chairs; a minister may speak to an assembly, some of whom are dozing or looking at their watches; a teacher continually finds attention sagging; a discussion group leader cannot get all to take part; and so on. An ideal assembly rarely exists. Attention and participation are the twin criteria of a successful assembly. Without attention a speaker has no audience, even though a thousand persons are present.

The chief trait of an assembly is discussion. A member does not simply bring his ideas and put them into a collection basket, together with the ideas of other members, but in and through the discussion new ideas are created. One not only learns from the others, but may be stimulated by the discussion to think new ideas. Creative thinking is the highest result of assembly.⁴

To appreciate the difference between assembly behavior and crowd behavior compare the conduct of an assembly leader with that of a crowd master.⁵ The one presents facts quietly, straightforwardly, elicits discussion and criticism, starts a give-and-take, keeps ideas scintillating; the other shouts, gesticulates wildly, shakes his fist provocatively in the faces of his audience, becomes oratorical, and dogmatizes, trying to make his hearers feel that he is their master and that they must obey. The assembly leader acts as a guide, seeing that each member has an opportunity to present any facts or ideas that he wishes; the crowd leader sways his group. The assembly leader is a participant; he leads only as a director of discussion and a nurturer of creative

³ The question may be raised whether the people at a theatrical performance comprise a crowd or assembly. Most of the time they have characteristics of an assembly or audience although very close at all times to being a crowd.

⁴ M. P. Follett, *The New State* (Longmans, Green, 1920), p. 30.

⁵ By this test the people at a motion picture theater are more of a crowd than an assembly.

thinking. The crowd leader selects; he may be a propagandist or a dictator.

Visit a courtroom and listen to a lawyer arguing before a jury; then listen to one presenting facts to a judge or to a group of judges such as a Supreme Court—the difference between a crowd leader and an assembly leader is at once apparent. Attend a debating society and notice how each debater carefully avoids certain data and exploits other materials, how he shouts at his listeners as if noise were convincing, how he becomes sarcastic as if sarcasm would win, how he seeks crowd contagion, and how sometimes he deceives. Lust for victory overshadows regard for truth.⁶ Observe the leader in a small discussion group and notice the quiet way in which he conducts himself and the skill with which he gets all to participate and to create. Having no ax to grind, he is free to stimulate others to achieve the utmost. A further examination of assembly behavior will now be made in considering some of the types of assembly and how they are organized.⁷

TYPES OF ASSEMBLIES

A simple type of assembly is the common committee meeting. The group is small. Shouting and wild appeals are taboo. One who starts off on a high key is made to feel ridiculous. Although there is a chairman, anyone has freedom to speak but not to monopolize the time.

The constitution of a committee is generally representative. Persons having had a variety of experiences bring together a wealth of ideas, and under interstimulation make suggestions and do creative thinking that no one of them could achieve alone. The members of a committee usually come together not from a common viewpoint but from several directions.⁸

The purpose of a committee meeting is usually two-fold—to plan and to do. Each member develops ideas and works out a plan before coming to the meeting. These plans are pooled, but the pooling is not a mere adding together; it is a creating of a plan different from and surpassing the pooled ones. The committee then selects the persons who are presumably best fitted to carry out the details of the accepted plan.

⁶ As a result of the extremes to which debaters have gone in attempting to win victories, the defense procedure arose of having "no decision" debates.

⁷ For descriptive materials, see H. S. Elliott, *The Process of Group Thinking* (Association Press, 1928).

⁸ In this connection it may be added that a motion picture "audience" has been pronounced more widely representative of all the people in a community than any other gathering.

Sometimes a committee carries out its own plan; sometimes it employs others.

In order to be most effective the members of a committee must prepare beforehand; if they do not, the discussions of the committee may fall flat. All the members need to assume pre-committee meeting responsibility; if not, then the meeting is likely to be a one-man or two-man affair with the rest acquiescing or perhaps criticising but not contributing anything constructive. At its best a committee is not ruled by conflict and compromise, but by the spirit of *co-creating*.

Opposing ideas and plans are sometimes complementary. The question at times is not, Shall this idea or that be adopted? but rather, How can opposing ideas and plans be integrated into a larger whole? Rome and Carthage, for instance, were complementary in some ways: they were not natural enemies but natural friends, and might have worked together so as to have made the Mediterranean a relatively permanent center of civilization. France and Germany, likewise, are not natural enemies, but natural friends, being complementary to one another in many things; together they hold the possibilities of a marvelous, world-helping civilization. England and the United States are trying to work out a "natural friends" pattern.

The social sciences, to change the scene, are not mutual enemies, although their spokesmen have frequently conducted themselves that way. Neither are the physical and social sciences natural antagonists. The goal of a meeting of the representatives of opposing beliefs need not be victory for one side or the other, but a configuration in which seemingly contradictory beliefs function harmoniously.

Despite its excellent possibilities, a committee meeting, however, is generally shunned as wasteful of time and energy, because of negative or passive attitudes of the members, because of past unfortunate experiences in committees, or because of poor leadership. The chairman often neglects to inform the members beforehand of what is expected of them; he sometimes fails to keep things moving. The discussion often dwindles into an airing of opinions. Digressions from the main theme accumulate and distract attention. The irresponsibility of the members is great,⁹ but not without reason.

Public Lectures and Forums. In public lectures at their best, persons come together to learn of a new project or idea, to hear one side or the

⁹ See the statement by Graham Wallas that he has sat through perhaps 3,000 meetings of the municipal committees and that "half of the men and women with whom I have sat were entirely unaware that any conscious mental effort on their part was called for." *The Great Society* (Macmillan, 1914), p. 276.

other of an important question, to think something new. The speaker aims to be fair, to discriminate between facts and prejudices. He talks naturally rather than "orates." A thoughtful atmosphere prevails. He gives his listeners something to take home and ponder about.

In the forum persons gather to discuss. A leader starts off the discussion, by presenting major issues. Questions are then sent up to him to be answered. Speakers from the floor are given three to five minutes each. Considerable freedom exists. Prejudices are generally aired. Sharp criticisms are uttered. Good feeling usually remains in charge despite a tenseness at times.

The Socialized Recitation. The ordinary classroom is an assembly where the teacher dominates and the pupils copy. Within these limits freedom of expression is permitted. Discipline problems often arise to trouble the teacher and to distract the class. In order to develop the initiative and the thinking of pupils to a new degree, various experiments have been tried, including the socialized recitation.

In a socialized recitation the principles of an assembly are given rein. The class is divided into small groups, which choose chairmen. Under the guidance of the chairmen projects and activities are carried forward. Each pupil is stimulated to prepare materials for class presentations along lines that connect his interests and the class work. Each pupil is given a chance to be a temporary chairman or leader of the class. Each is encouraged to give criticisms on the work of the rest and to explain his reactions. The teacher stays in the background except when the social situation gets out of pupil control.

FUNCTIONS OF ASSEMBLIES

The assembly is exceedingly useful, for time, expense, and energy are saved by getting people to come together and to think together rather than to try to reach them all as separate beings. To assemble people and present facts and meanings of facts impartially to them is better than to yell at them in crowds, or to get them "all worked up" only to act spasmodically. In an assembly persons gain sufficient stimulus to jar them out of their lethargy and yet not so much that they effervesce in unstable decisions. As a rule it is better to arouse them to coöperative and creative thinking and effort than to stir them with a grandstand pitch of emotion. On the other hand a crowd generates an enthusiasm which an assembly cannot do. It thus possesses advantages over an assembly when something difficult and dangerous needs to be done.

Some assemblies put people to sleep; others awaken them from mental drowsiness and lethargy and set them at work on new and higher levels. An assembly, like a crowd, loosens the inbred attitudes of many people, and secures their thoughtful, permanent committal to group aims, to financial support of group movements, and to group participation. Unfortunately group participation may be narrowing as well as broadening.

The genius of the Rotarian concept of organization resides in its attempt to organize difference rather than likeness. Unfortunately, the earlier promises of this form of organization have not been fulfilled, since the differences were never allowed to become functional. Superficial and premature striving for coöperative action has led again to sentimental sameness, to mediocrity, and to agreement upon generalized but non-functional principles.¹⁰

When in an assembly, a person has regard to his status; he is in the presence of a thoughtful, critical group. He is sensitive regarding the impressions that he makes, because he is being judged on a higher level than usual. He develops a broader social attitude than if he absented himself from assembly influence.

The leader of an assembly is a key person. Through the quietly spoken word, clothed in the richness of a socialized personality, the leader has direct influence of no mean order, and greater indirect influence because of the suggestions that he can give which will stimulate creative thinking and planning. The leader can make or break an assembly.

An assembly can frequently be addressed to better advantage than can individuals. The leader does not experience the embarrassment which he feels when conversing upon a delicate problem. He can make a suggestion before an assembly which would be taken as an insult if addressed personally to the offenders. There is just enough anonymity to enable persons who need reprimand to explain that "the speaker means someone else," and enough force in the speaker's remarks to penetrate their thinking, stimulating them "to right about face" quietly without having their pride pricked.

Despite its worthy traits a big assembly is rarely satisfactory. Even a group, such as a committee of thirty, is too large for effective participation by all; the chief points for discussion become lost in the idiosyncrasies of thirty differing personalities. While discussion is vital, too much "talk" hinders progress. A large committee often arouses the pride of those who are to get the credit, but its force is easily dissipated. Each passes on responsibility to others.

¹⁰ E. C. Lindeman, "Quality versus Quantity: the Goal of Community Organization," *Jour. of Social Forces*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 519.

Assemblies need to be kept small. Large numbers are only quasi-assemblies. They continually verge on crowd contagion and propagandist movements. The assembly must be small enough for each member to take part freely. Free intersocial stimulation and creative thinking are standards against which to measure an assembly.

PUBLICS

The public is an expanded audience. It is a quasi-temporary group. It lacks the structure and limits of a permanent group; it does not have the face-to-face or bodily presence characteristics of the crowd or assembly. Despite its mobility and incoherence a public often survives surprisingly long. It is a dynamic unit in democracy. The feelings of its members are aroused on occasion and a social tornado may be generated.¹¹ On its feeling side the public resembles the crowd, but in its common-sense aspects it is in a class with the assembly. The public is a group of persons scattered over an extensive area who think and feel alike on some matter and are somewhat aware of their similar responses.

The rise of the public came about following the modern developments in communication, such as the invention of the printing press, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the radio, and particularly of the newspaper. When these developments made it possible for persons leagues apart, strangers to one another, to feel, think, and behave alike, and to be aware of these similar reactions without coming together, then the public developed. The public as a social group, however, is still little understood.

The printing press has been given credit by Sighele for creating the public and substituting it in part for the crowd.¹² The railroad shortens distances and enables newspapers to reach the outskirts of cities and even remote rural localities in a comparatively short time. Further, the telegraph, telephone, and radio have almost eliminated distance, bridging thousands of miles in a few moments. The radio is developing publics of its own. Hence, the railroad, telegraph, telephone, the radio cooperate with and supplement the printing press in the development of publics.¹³

¹¹ See David Snedden's designation of a face-to-face group as an "associate group," colored by "a wealth of feeling accompaniments," and of publics as "federate groups," in which only a small fraction of social relationships are personal, in "Communities, Associate and Federate," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXVIII: 681-93.

¹² *La foule criminelle* (Paris, 1892), p. 225.

¹³ *La foule criminelle* (Paris, 1892), pp. 225, 226. Also see Gabriel Tarde, *L'opinion et la foule* (Paris, 1901), Ch. I.

Each reading public tends to develop its own type of journalism and to produce newspapers which have its own helpful or harmful qualities and which are its own creatures.¹⁴ Large numbers scattered over a wide territory regularly read the news organs of the publics to which they belong, feel simultaneously the same way in regard to a wanton attack upon anything which is a part of a given public, and express their feelings and opinions simultaneously, being aware that at the same time the other members of that public are experiencing the same feelings and giving expression to the same opinions.

A staunch member of the Republican party in the United States subscribes chiefly to Republican newspapers. If handed a radical socialist journal he would feel insulted. The orthodox socialist subscribes faithfully to his party press, but throws aside Republican newspapers without a glance. The churchman peruses regularly the religious journals of his belief, but spurns free-thinking publications, while in the same neighborhood the free-thinker scoffs at religious papers. Thus each public creates its own instruments of stimulation. What would happen if for one year all Republicans were to read open-mindedly only socialist newspapers and all socialists were to give faithful attention to the Republican press? The influence of the public exercises as great a control over its newspapers as they do over it. In reversions to past and lower standards the "yellow" and melodramatic press indirectly control its publics.

Within its public the newspaper is tempted to cater to the lower nature of its members. The commercialized newspapers find that it pays to sensationalize, to appeal to passions and prejudices, and to play up the morbid. The daily press is prone to omit the publication of vital social facts, of data derogatory to powerful social institutions, such as private property, the church, of large-scale advertisers; it tends to elaborate the minor details of burglaries, divorce scandals, prize fights. It is often controlled by the advertisers of non-essentials. It directly influences its public to spend rather than to save.¹⁵

One public is often played against another by newspapers, and thus crowd spirit is engendered. The average reader easily believes the best about his own groups and the worst about other groups. What labor newspaper relates the good deeds of employers, and what capitalist publications extol the long-suffering and heart-yearnings of wage-earners? Publics thus become unjustly biased against each other. They develop

¹⁴ *La foule criminelle* (Paris, 1892), p. 241.

¹⁵ See T. N. Carver, "War Thrift," *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1919), Ch. VI.

a sense of injustice when coöperation is needed. They build up prejudices where a scientific understanding would lead to mutual aid.

To the extent that newspapers suppress the truth or play upon the feelings, or by "scare" headlines create false sentiments, the public is the victim of crowd foibles. To the degree, however, that the members of a public can sit quietly in the home or office and think carefully they possess advantages of an assembly nature. Thus a public may rise to an assembly height or sink to a crowd depth.

PUBLICS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

A person is a member of several publics at the same time, but only of one assembly or crowd at a time. The stimuli from one public may cancel those from another. He may belong simultaneously, to a Coolidge public, a Billy Sunday public, a Babe Ruth public, and a John McCormack public. His interests as a member of one public may run counter to those of another; hence, he will be compelled to pair off impulses and to act more rationally than if a member only of a single face-to-face group. In this way membership in publics may have a singularly steadying effect.

An Era of Publics. The twentieth century is becoming an era of publics. In this way some of the influence of countless crowds is being offset. In a small way the public is supplanting the crowd. The increase of both publics and crowds, however, is multiplying the currents of opinion. The maze of publics that one may belong to may lead not to thought but to befuddlement.

Although publics are coming to the fore as powerful groups they are little controlled. They are monsters of gigantic force but little brain. These dinosaurs require scientific study and control. Since many publics are comprised of persons not much beyond sixth or seventh grade mental levels, they are lacking in poise. To imagine a million or fifty million persons with adolescent intelligence trying to function together in groups will explain the weaknesses of publics. An undeveloped intelligence is the misfortune of publics, as well as of crowds, or even of democracy, for democracy to-day is largely a conglomeration of publics and of unintelligent publics. With a rise in social intelligence, publics will become more efficient.¹⁶

Traditional education will not suffice. Education that socializes is a minimum need. Publics may well become self-critical; their member-

¹⁶ Walter Lippmann in his book on *The Phantom Public* (Harcourt, Brace, 1925), contends that the general public is still pretty much of a myth.

ships may likewise assume a greatly increased responsibility. The increase in the size and strength of publics requires that the average man be better and better trained in the social sciences and particularly in the principles of social psychology. Persons need to be trained to think clearly in terms of several large publics at the same time. Education needs a larger vision of its responsibilities.

Crises and Publics. In a widespread crisis persons who never have recognized one another begin to feel, think, and to work together. In times of national calamities, or when great dangers impend from without the nation, an entire nation becomes a gigantic public. Smaller publics subordinate their claims to the big national public. Instead of several publics, or "interests," or "blocs," working against each other, there occurs an integration of all in one vast public.

The danger of an attack upon the earth from an etherplane fleet from Mars would do more than anything else to fuse the peoples of the earth into a world public. France and Germany would forget their feuds; the English and the Hindus would join arms; capitalists and communists would keep step; white and yellow and black races would throw aside their reciprocal prejudices; religious controversies would cease. Without an impending world calamity it will be some time before a world public will function. Education broadly speaking may yet build not an ephemeral world public pulled together by a common fear, but one that will develop an increasing usefulness and unity.

The Radio Public. The radio public is unique. It has leaders, but delays its responses. Telephone and telegraph and mail bring back favorable and unfavorable but more or less delayed applause or disapproval. Everything is planned beforehand and carried through as planned. Usually there is no give-and-take, no interstimulation during a specific program. To judge from the composition of the popular programs the radio public is an amusement group first of all, and an educational group secondarily.

The radio public as an educational group is especially interesting.¹⁷ The government broadcasts income tax information; questions are answered and the people instructed. Nominating conventions are no longer limited to those within four walls, but the speakers must bear in mind that they are addressing calm millions rather than haranguing an overheated, worn out crowd. The chief executive addresses his people and a

¹⁷ The broadcasting of college debates over the radio with decisions sent in by mail has been an interesting experiment. The open radio forum, with questions telephoned in while the broadcaster is speaking, has unique possibilities.

ruler in one country speaks to the people of other countries. Ramsay MacDonald talks across the Atlantic and a revolutionist president of Argentine justifies his tactics by speaking from Buenos Aires to Red-fearing United States.¹⁸ By radio it is already possible to bring a whole nation together at a given hour, transforming it into a gigantic radio public. The chief executive is no longer confined to having his annual messages read to a few hundred congressmen, but can "speak naturally and with his own voice" to the entire nation. In times of national crises it will be possible to stir a hundred million and more people to wrought-up action in a few hours. With radio leaping oceans and connecting continents, the world is coming closer together. But this increased proximity of peoples with different if not antagonistic culture traits will lead to conflicts, rather than coöperation, unless adequate measures are taken to adjust the more violent differences in culture.

GOLF GALLERIES AS CROWDS, ASSEMBLIES, OR PUBLICS

A golf gallery is an interesting type of social group to study. It is neither a crowd, an assembly, nor a public, and yet at times it manifests characteristics of all three. It is not even like its first cousin, a tennis gallery where the people are seated and grow excited at critical moments, for in a golf gallery nearly all are standing, sometimes several thousands, and have become perfectly silent at the crucial seconds.¹⁹

The golf gallery is sometimes more remarkable than the game itself. A gallery of 2,000 or 3,000 persons is becoming increasingly common, while estimates have placed the gallery following Bobby Jones in a final match game of a national tournament as high as 12,000. Increased means of communication have aroused interest in the golf stars, and increased transportation facilities have enabled thousands to come together to watch a game between two internationally known players. Moreover, the golf gallery is a colorful spectacle with its rainbow shades of wearing apparel and general good but not hilarious or rowdyish tone. A golf gallery is especially spectacular when it is strung out on both sides of a fairway leading up to and encircling a green. Up into this humanly surrounded, bottle-like enclosure the difficult approach shots must be made. A humorous touch is added when a too-anxious observer leans over too far and is hit on the shoulder or head by an approach shot, which for-

¹⁸ See Radio address of President Jose F. Uriburu, September 13, 1930.

¹⁹ It is significant that of the hundreds of articles that have been written on golf, one looks in vain for a discussion of the golf gallery. Most of the articles deal with the players and the intricacies of the game.

unately may bounce back upon the course and save the player an extra stroke. Then, the gallery closes in around the green while the players bravely crowd their way forward, take their stances, the objects of attention of hundreds or thousands of admiring eyes.

As a Crowd. Despite its resemblances to an assembly and a public, the golf gallery has certain crowd characteristics. Many persons are milling around, trying to better their position to see a difficult putt. Between plays on different greens there is a rushing and occasionally a stampeding to obtain a vantage point of observation at the next green. It is necessary to hold the crowd back by ropes, although there is rarely any rushing of the ropes. In the closing match of a national tournament even the lone players must sometimes push their way through the crowd in order to make the next stroke. A golf gallery manifests a certain irresponsibility; it does not take the game over-seriously. Moreover, now and then a newcomer will rush up and crudely ask: "Who's playing?" or thoughtlessly and rudely dash across the player's line of vision and disconcert the player. Someone will boldly step out and click a kodak at a player trying to make a difficult stroke. An open-air abandon gives license to behave crowd-like.

As an Assembly. A golf gallery is not always a crowd; it is more often an assembly. Perhaps its most distinguishable mark is the hush which falls over the hundreds or thousands of its members when crucial plays are being made on the greens. It is the hush of eventide, or even the hush of a funeral, but for different reasons of course. No one stirs. No one seems to breathe. Necks remain craned. Everything hangs on the slight quiet swing of a wrist. A small cup and a smaller ball several feet or yards away complete the setting. The wrist swings silently amidst the surrounding silence, and hundreds or thousands of eyes follow the rolling, curving ball over a smooth, rolling, surface. Will it go in? If it does, a spontaneous but restrained round of applause breaks forth followed by subdued expressions of praise. If it does not, then expressions of disappointment accompany the general let-up in attention. The players themselves usually make no response but move quickly on to the next play.²⁰ Even between crucial plays on the greens the gallery speaks softly. There is no loud talking; even whispering is muffled. Decorum usually prevails, and dignity reigns. Remarks are limited to a few associates; there is nothing distracting except an occasional "fore." As in any audience, there are persons who are evidently present more to at-

²⁰ Except the so-called colorful players who are usually the most popular but not always the best.

tract attention to themselves than to watch the game. There is a quiet flare for conspicuousness manifested by a few, which gives them notoriety rather than increased status.

After the players have holed out and started to move off the green, the gallery drops into quiet discussions of the strokes that have just been made, and of the ability of the respective players. There are no heated arguments, no fist fights, no pitched voices. Poise prevails.

The golf gallery is composed for the most part of persons of manners, means, prominence, travel. No rowdies or ruffians such as frequent baseball crowds are in evidence; the police are rarely if ever needed. Persons of leisure abound. Few if any children are present. The "lower classes" would consider a golf game a waste of time. Those who are present usually know something about the game from experience, but golfing knowledge is limited largely to the professional and leisure classes who take pride in conducting themselves in seemly manner.

There is no hawking of wares, no "hot dog" stands, no concessions; even provisions for lunch are not conducted by commercial competitors. Since golf tournaments are generally played on private golf links, the reserve of the private golf club is maintained. The restraint of the well mannered is generally evident.

As a Public. The golf gallery is also a number of publics. It is composed of admirers of stars. Persons who follow the game regularly and who read the newspaper accounts of tournaments are accustomed to "gallery" certain players and to show little interest in other players, except in the closing matches of a tournament.

A golf gallery is composed of strangers from far and near. Despite the large galleries that follow certain players, small galleries may be seen at the same time who are keeping pace with favorites. Every golf gallery is composed of at least two publics: those who are "pulling for" one player and those who are silently rooting for the other player (in a twosome). The amount of "pulling for" each player is never known; it is one of the most difficult social forces to measure. Rarely is there so much social energy being expressed in silence.

The golf gallery is partly composed of newspaper-made publics. Persons read the newspaper accounts of golf players and tournaments, grow interested, attend match plays, read the newspaper descriptions play by play, hole by hole, of what they have seen, and thus grow into publics built around individual golfers. Certain golfers, such as Bobby Jones, Walter Hagen, or Horton Smith; Glenna Collett, or Helen Hicks re-

ceive so much newspaper publicity that the readers feel that they know these celebrities without ever having seen them.

The golf gallery has a large influence over the players. The gallery is so close to the players that the latter have to steel themselves against its quiet but powerful influence. "There is scarcely a twitching nerve they cannot see, not a stifled groan they cannot hear."²¹ In consequence of the gallery's presence the player tends to hide his emotions and hence becomes somewhat colorless. The colorful player, the one whom the gallery likes, shows his feelings, but to give way to feelings is disastrous to playing golf. To be even slightly responsive to the golf gallery is to take one's mind from the game itself, but golf does not permit of divided attention, hence most players are unresponsive, but not wholly unaware. Since golf requires undivided attention, a chasm exists between the player and his gallery, even though the gallery hovers closely about the player. The golf gallery thus cuts across many social groups and develops certain characteristics peculiar to itself.

PROPOSITIONS

1. An assembly is a temporary form of grouping in which ideas rather than feelings control.

2. A committee meeting, a discussion group, and an open forum are typical assemblies.

3. Parliamentary rules of order were invented to keep a large assembly from degenerating into a crowd.

4. Assembly leaders function as leaders of discussion rather than yell-leaders of crowds.

5. Assemblies foster the thinking of persons in groups, and thereby save time, energy, and expense.

6. Assemblies lack the enthusiasm of crowds.

7. The public is a group made possible by the invention of the modern newspaper, the telegraph, and the like.

8. The public is a group without physical presence whose members feel and think alike, and who are aware of this similarity.

9. Publics possess a steadying social effect, for a person may belong to several different ones at the same time and thus he compares and chooses between social stimuli.

10. Social crises generate publics.

11. The development of an era of publics when the average intelligence is not above that of the twelve or fourteen year old creates special social problems.

12. A golf gallery is a special form of social grouping which has the informality of the crowd, the dignity of an assembly, and the selective admiration found in publics.

²¹ Bernard Darwin, "The Golfer's Emotion," *Atlantic Monthly*, 141: 799.

PROBLEMS

1. Is a jury an assembly or a crowd?
2. What is the chief characteristic of an assembly?
3. What was the origin of parliamentary rules?
4. Why are parliamentary rules brittle and easily snapped?
5. Under what conditions may an assembly promote creative thinking?
6. What are the weaknesses of open forum assemblies?
7. In what way is an assembly inferior to a crowd?
8. What is the leading temptation of an assembly leader?
9. Why must assemblies be small?
10. Why is it harder to address 200 persons in a hall that seats 1000 than in one which seats 150.
11. When do you enjoy committee meetings?
12. Why do many students dislike the socialized recitation method?
13. Is a large lecture class an assembly or a crowd?
14. What is a public?
15. Name three publics to which you now belong?
16. How does a radio public differ from other publics?
17. In what sense is a golf gallery a crowd? an assembly? a public?
18. What hinders the rise of a world public?
19. What is the chief weakness of a public?
20. Compare an assembly and a public at their best.

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CHAPTER XXVII

OCCUPATIONAL PUBLICS

AN occupation is a standardized set of activities by which, first, human beings make a living; and, second, make personalities. An occupational group is a public that has grown up around ways of earning a living. When an occupational awareness reaches out to a number of persons, a loose organization is likely to be developed, and then, a more binding one, as in the case of a labor union. When specialized training, complicated skills, and special ethical codes develop, an occupation grows into a profession. A professional organization puts up the bars and requires that all who are admitted must pass certain standards. Next, the state steps in, and takes charge of admitting new members to the given profession. Then, an unofficial international organization develops. Occupations are not only intensive in their influence upon the behavior patterns of human beings, but extensive in their world reach.

A profession is a type of occupation in which activity is specialized, in which special training is essential, and in which service is put ahead of wages. But as soon as it acquires status, mountebanks pose as members and try to fool the public. In consequence, each field is deliberately fenced in and bars are put up for entrance. In this way superior persons are protected and other equally superior persons are attracted.¹ The problem of excluding the unfit, the quacks, and the charlatans is difficult and ever present. The well organized medical and legal professions still struggle with the problem, while newer fields, such as psychology, are alive with hoodwinkers.

A profession is different from a business, for example, in that the profit motive is subordinated. Technical knowledge and skill give a status that supplant in part the acquisition of money. Skill, however, that may be employed by business, such as legal skill or engineering skill, may be highly paid. Many professions, not valued highly by business, fall back upon satisfactions received from exercising their respective skills.

¹ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), p. 438.

OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITY AND PERSONALITY

Doing a thing according to certain patterns daily, in season and out, creates established behavior patterns. The occupation of driving ox-teams produces slow-moving patterns, while driving a taxi in a speeded-up city creates quick moving patterns. Being a motorman with the sign in front, "Don't speak to the motorman," is like working in a mental vacuum, while teaching classes of wide-awake, inquiring youth sharpens one's wits and develops mental alertness. Correcting children's mistakes in arithmetic, spelling, and reading for several hours daily, over many years produces mistake-hunting patterns. A hunting life establishes patterns opposite from those developed in street-cleaning.

Occupational members develop special vocabularies, biases, and competitive attitudes toward other occupations. Most persons devote their best hours daily to their occupations and hence occupations largely make personalities. Each occupation makes its own demands on attention, and hence develops peculiar patterns of behavior.

Objects won in occupational activities become values, social values. These values are paralleled by correlative attitudes, so that each occupation is characterized by social values and attitudes peculiar to itself. Business activity yields money, which becomes a chief value for business men. Missionary activities bear fruit in converts, who become the leading values to missionaries. Political activity yields votes, one of the chief values to politicians.

Two persons starting with similar urges to activity, similar potentialities, may choose different occupations. One, for example, may select a money-making occupation; and the other a service occupation, such as being a foreign missionary. At the end of twenty years both may have become successful in their respective fields, but have drifted so far apart in attitudes as to have little in common. Different occupational activities for a term of years have changed friends into strangers.

An ordinary person's mental equipment is such as to fit him to succeed in any one of a number of somewhat related occupations. "Rarely does it happen that talent is suited to one occupation only." Occupational activities, however, take the inherited stock of urges and organize them into attitudes, so that a person at fifty is an entirely different person than he would have been had he followed some other occupation at which he might have succeeded equally well.

Choice of an occupation, therefore, is momentous. Most persons drift into their occupations. Most of the hard work in vocational guidance has

neglected the social psychology of occupations. In helping a youth to choose an occupation it is vital to consider what that occupation will do to him. A person's attitudes at fifty are forecasted in his choice of an occupation at twenty. A youth in choosing an occupation is selecting a future personality. To advise a youth occupationally when he is only fifteen is to assume responsibilities little suspected.

After observing men at work in many parts of the world, Whiting Williams makes the following observation: "We tend to live our way into our thinking, more than we think our way into our living."² From the standpoint of a student of educational processes for many years, R. L. Finney concludes: "Our interests predetermine our thinking, seldom does our thinking select our interests."³ A social worker in studying prison wardens points out that the effect of being placed in charge of other beings, who are deprived of their liberty, is demoralizing to the wardens and too great a strain.⁴ Even Lewis Mumford indicates that a socialist given to thinking about the human suffering which has accompanied the growth of capitalism thereby becomes blinded to the worthy phases of organization, distribution, and control within capitalism.⁵

A community organization expert in dealing with people of many occupations says: "So all men are prisoners to their special work and point of view."⁶ A lawyer is occupationally influenced: "The mood of partisanship has been that of a lawyer who is getting up an argument and is looking for such facts as will bolster up his case. That mood is inimical to free and intelligent thought; its object is rhetorical triumph."⁷ In a comparative statement, R. H. Gault brings out the thought that "the professional disposition or complex of the physician renders him suggestible in the face of situations that leave the carpenter untouched. He responds with enthusiasm to a movement for paving the streets because it 'suggests' to him what never occurred to the proposers—the improvement of sanitary conditions."⁸

OCCUPATIONAL EGOCENTRISM

A person who has enjoyed his work in a given occupation and has succeeded in it, is likely to feel that his occupation or profession is the most important of all. His attitudes become organized around his occu-

² *Horny Hands and Hampered Elbows* (Scribners, 1922), p. IX.

³ *Causes and Cures for Social Unrest* (Macmillan, 1922), pp. 7-8.

⁴ Homer Folks, *National Conference of Social Work*, 1923, p. 4.

⁵ *The Story of Utopias* (Boni and Liveright, 1923), p. 256.

⁶ Henry E. Jackson, *Robinson Crusoe, Social Engineer* (Dutton, 1922), p. 197.

⁷ Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁸ *Social Psychology* (Holt, 1923), p. 140.

pational activities. An anonymous writer illustrates the point when he says: "The miller thinks that the wheat grows only in order to keep his mill going." J. M. Williams analyzes this type of reaction when he refers to a business man:

In the course of his work his business becomes precious to him because it was that for which he had given his life, just as children are precious to the mother as that for which she has given her life, and the book to the author as that for which he has given his life. Life is precious and whatever one gives it for becomes precious.⁹

Occupational egocentrism affects the wage-earner and the capitalist similarly. The effect of specialization, of a circumscribed horizon, is evident in both instances. The tendency of both capital and labor to feel themselves superior to each other is eclipsed by the belief of both that they are superior to society itself. George Eastman, the kodak manufacturer, punctures this fallacy when he says: "Man could not go into the woods and build a big business. It is the community which makes it possible."¹⁰ L. T. Hobhouse puts it this way:

The poor man maintains "my" right to work and wages as though the community whose system of exchanges makes work profitable and gives money wages their value had nothing to say to the claim. The inheritor of wealth talks of "my" property, and resents interference with it by society, forgetting that without the organized force of the community and the rule of law, he could neither inherit nor be secure from moment to moment in his possession.¹¹

In this connection also the attitudes of college professors are notorious. Each one is likely to believe that the subjects he teaches are more important than other subjects. If any courses are to be put on the required list, each professor feels that some of his own should be included. Moreover a frank and conscientious student who, in good faith, tells his teachers that he "didn't get anything out of that course" had better not enroll with that teacher again soon.

The successful farmer feels the superiority of his occupation over other lines of activity, and does not conceal his attitudes. If he be traditional, he boasts of his independence, and how he can do as he pleases on his own land. He openly pities the "poor fish" who huddle in large cities, developing softness of fiber. To change the figure, he makes fun of the "night hawks" of the city who turn darkness into carousals and go to their work the next day anemic and worn.

The hereditary leisure classes even proclaim the superiority of an idle

⁹ *The Foundations of Social Science* (Knopf, 1920), pp. 57-58.

¹⁰ *Hearst's International*, XLIV: 36.

¹¹ *Elements of Social Justice* (Holt, 1922), p. 26.

existence. They make an occupation out of doing nothing, and worship it. They try to exalt afternoon teas and bridge into a dignified and serious profession, scorning to soil their hands by useful manual labor. As their mental reactions atrophy, they become incapable of perceiving that their do-nothing existence, instead of being the highest of all, may be the most vapid, silly, and wasteful of all.

The belief that one's occupation is the best in the world may be called *occupational positivism*. By a reverse psychological process, unfavorable experiences in an occupation and unfavorable reflection regarding one's occupation lead to what has been called *occupational negativism*.¹² The dislike for one's occupation takes a pathological turn—if one can escape neither the occupation nor its unpleasant features. Where no change can be made, then: "It's lumber—sticks, boards, wood, wood, wood, all the time. Your brain becomes like a block of wood when you sort and grade month after month. It's things of that sort that make a fellow irritable, fagged out at the end of the day."¹³

A woman working under sweatshop conditions cries out:

Oh! but for one short hour!
A respite however brief!—
No blessed leisure for love or hope,
But only time for Grief!
A little weeping would ease my heart,
But in their briny bed
My tears must stop, for every drop
Hinders needle and thread!¹⁴

Occupational attitudes become fixed. Occupational literature furthers the attitudes. Trade journals cater to the occupational prejudices of their constituents. Each boosts the calling it represents, until its readers become saturated with occupational pride, which in turn becomes occupational blindness. Few persons read regularly the journals of lives of activity other than their own. Tendencies to occupational inbreeding are thus given free rein.

Occupational uniformities become fixed in culture. Children are in training in occupational lines of thinking from early infancy. Table talk and family conversation are occupationally centered. He who shifts to a distinctively new calling is almost lost. He finds himself swallowed up in the matrix of a strange occupational culture. Each craft develops well integrated but contradictory beliefs and sometimes superstitions.

¹² From ms. by Pauline V. Young (Univ. of Southern California, n.d.).

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ From Thomas Hood, *The Song of the Shirt*.

Each occupational group has its own life. Persons in the same specialty meet together to talk "shop," go to the same types of amusements, stimulate each other to new achievements. They work and "picnic" together until they live for the most part in the same but isolated world. They develop organizations peculiar to their calling, institutions working toward the same end, thinking crystallized in the same grooves. These organizations may acquire great power and status, such as the American Medical Association or the American Bar Association. They develop codes of ethics, and build high walls for admission.

TYPES AND STAGES OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES

A *pure occupational attitude* is one arising after a person enters a given occupation and is a direct result of a specific type of occupational activity. When this has overthrown earlier and opposite tendencies, excellent proof is thus afforded that a genuine occupational attitude has developed. A good example is the otherwise socially careless person who develops a "fighting-evil" attitude after entering the ministry; or the young business man who goes into college teaching and then develops a "superior-to-money" attitude. As a "successful" teacher he refuses a salary nearly twice his previous income, because he is "making character not money now."

Many pure or intra-occupational attitudes develop naturally and directly out of native impulses and behavior patterns. "I like business," says a young man trained in a minister's family where service ideals predominate, "because of the joy I get from handling money. I like to receive and pay out large sums of money, in short, to put over big deals and make a neat return on my labor and skill. There is always something new and exciting happening at every turn."

The *a priori phase* of occupational attitudes is often easily discernible. A preacher who usually takes an argumentative attitude in his sermons was a pugnacious boy. In his school days he was in nearly every "fist-fight in the neighborhood." As the leader of a gang he held his position because of his fighting proclivities. "Whenever anybody was picked on, I always became his champion."

An attitude is often a conditioned reflex, or more likely a conditioning of an attitude previously held. *Conditioned occupational attitudes*¹⁵ are frequently earlier attitudes modified or conditioned by occupational activities. When a person changes from one occupation to another, many of

¹⁵ From ms. by Pauline V. Young (Univ. of Southern California, n.d.).

the new occupational attitudes are conditioned attitudes originating in the first occupation.

Pure or intra-occupational attitudes of a specific nature tend to become synthesized. A *synthesized occupational attitude* is composed of a set or of sets of occupational attitudes molded into a point of view, a form of "mindedness," a philosophy of life. A routine-mindedness of factory workers, a revolt-mindedness of oppressed coal miners, an absent-mindedness of college professors, an unsocial-mindedness of research workers, a superficial but wide awake-mindedness of news reporters, a diplomacy-mindedness of politicians—all these illustrate synthesized occupational attitudes. Only a small amount of reflection enters in as a rule. When these synthesized attitudes assume general proportions they illustrate occupational dominance, as when a person because of his occupational experiences develops a cynical philosophy of life.

Reflective occupational attitudes, as the term implies, involve a judgment regarding the strong and weak points of one's occupation. The introvertive type of person is likely to reflect much concerning his occupation. Reflective attitudes are stock-taking attitudes. The favorable illustrate occupational positivism; the unfavorable, occupational negativism. They are likely to be both positive and negative, and evaluative. For example: "I'm in a non-money-making profession; there's a good deal of freedom. I don't have to stake all. I don't have to worry. No one will ever get rich in my calling, but I'm earning enough to live on and to save something for a rainy day. I love freedom, and my occupation gives me enough—all that is good for me." Another person says: "I'm too old to change now. My farm will keep me from starving. I'll never have to sit around, out of a job like L. is doing since he moved to town. The work here is hard, but I'd rather die working, than rusting out, wouldn't you?"

A person often possesses *interdependent occupational attitudes*. Attitudes develop integratively in a person's non-remunerative and remunerative activities. His family and occupational attitudes may become inseparable, or his religious and occupational activities, or his maintenance-of-social-status and occupational activities. It may be impossible to disentangle even contradictory attitudes. "Teaching enables me to enjoy my home. R. is on the road so much that he sees his family only on week-ends. I don't care if he is getting twice as much recognition as I am. I am keeping a daily record of my children's activities and development, and then I make regular use of this record in teaching my psychology classes."

Occupational attitudes continue to function long after one has left his life occupation, that is, after he has retired; they often "dominate" in

varying degrees his closing years of life. As such they may be called *a posteriori occupational attitudes*. The retired farmer continues to rise at five o'clock and to go to bed at nine or earlier. The retired business man becomes restless and peevish "with nothing big to put over." The clerk, adding figures all day for a life-time, finds that eternity becomes mathematical, or as the poet has said:

Two and two are four; four and three are seven—
That is all that he can say where he sits in Heaven;
Two and two are four; four and three are seven—
Through the long celestial day.¹⁶

As a process, an occupational attitude thus may be viewed as a series of *stages*, involving important changes. In the first place there may or may not be (1) an *a priori* stage, which is represented by an earlier occupational attitude, by some other social attitude, or by some general innate tendency. Even a pure occupational attitude probably is a conditioned aptitude or innate tendency. (2) Unconscious occupational reactions may become conscious, and an occupational attitude enters a *reflective* stage, in which work conditions are judged good or bad. (3) After a person has been in an occupation for some time and has become definitely successful or unsuccessful, his various sets of occupational attitudes tend to *synthesize* into a philosophy of life. (4) At any point in the process, an occupational attitude may become inextricably bound up with other types of attitudes and present an *interdependent* nature. (5) After a person leaves an occupation, his occupational behavior follows him, and an *a posteriori* stage is reached.

OCCUPATIONAL CONTROL

Occupational groups often grow so powerful that they seek political preferment and social control. Business attempts to control legislation; labor unions enter politics; professions may lobby. Professional groups may seek legislative aid as a protection. They feel the everyday encroachment of competing groups. Note, for example, in the United States, the struggles between the various medical groups for legislative protection and freedom.

In the United States labor unions were first pronounced conspiracies by business-minded and legal-minded legislators. Both business and labor

¹⁶ "The Clerk," by Scudder Middleton, in Branthwaite, *Anthology of Magazine Verse*, 1916.

have sought to dominate the social order. In recent years we have educators actively engaged in trying to impose their occupational values and professional techniques upon society.

This development of occupational control has been given specialized emphasis in various economic theories and practices, such as sovietism, or guild socialism. Occupational representation versus geographic representation in legislative bodies has become a burning question in some quarters. Occupational control is a scheme centuries old, finding expression in the guilds of England which six or seven centuries ago secured governmental representation.

In many continental towns, the craft guilds, as such, elected the members of the town council. Thus in Florence, beginning in 1223, the twenty-one principal federations of craft guilds chose the Priors and all other important magistrates. In Strasbourg the City Council was composed of the delegates from the twenty-five principal guild groups.¹⁷

National governments likewise have reflected occupational representation. The English Parliament originated as "Assembly of the 'estates' of the landed nobility, the clergy, the free-holders, and the merchants and manufacturers of the towns," while the legislature of Sweden down to 1866 "consisted of four houses, representing the clergy, the nobility, the burghers, and the peasants, respectively, with each house meeting and deliberating separately."¹⁸

In primitive society territorial and occupational representation were closely related. In primitive days men as hunters and fighters, and later as herdsmen had the chief voice in social control. Woman as care-takers of children, as crude hoe-culturists, and as crass manufacturers had little voice. When men, after the passing of hunting and herding opportunities, changed their attention to hoe-culture and later to agriculture, they still maintained political control. Then when simple manufacture was supplanted by machine-facture with its unskilled, skilled, clerical, entrepreneurial, and stockholder divisions of labor, the movement for occupational representation began in earnest. With the rise of the professions, certain ones, such as the legal, and now, business, have exerted widespread occupational dominance.

The Industrial Revolution was followed by occupational specialization and by clusterings of occupations. The dominance of business has been greatly resented, but nowhere has the resentment developed so far as in

¹⁷ P. H. Douglas, "Occupational Versus Proportional Representation," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXIX:2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Russia. The workmen's councils or soviets there have stressed the occupations as the basis of government. By it the laboring man perceives a means of ruling not only Russia but the world, for the unskilled and skilled occupations outnumber all others. He favors it as a means of dethroning the "minority" now in control, the minority who own the wealth and who are supported by the intellectual elite, and the upper half of the middle class who aspire to a wealth status.

Outside of communist ranks, moreover, the occupational control idea has a large following, especially among those who have become disgusted with "bosses," "machine control," and other political evils. It is argued that men who live near one another, but who have different occupational attitudes, cancel one another's influence, so that political power comes into the hands of the manipulators. It is also argued that occupational representation, on the other hand, would give persons who work together and who have common attitudes, more adequate representation than now. There is no guarantee, however, that occupational representatives would be less self-centered and less given to political log-rolling and chicanery than geographic representatives. Occupational groups could doubtless be graded according to social attitudes with the result that *the occupations with the higher social values would be in the minority and hence be overwhelmed.*

Other dangers lurk in the occupational determinism theory. Work, for example, as a factor in the development of a person's social attitudes may have debilitating effects. So much work is routine that work attitudes are often of low grade. To make these dominant in social control is scarcely wise. Occupations generate powerful biases, which likewise are poor rulers. Moreover, there are other phases of life besides work which deserve a place in social control.

PROPOSITIONS

1. An occupation is a standardized and habitual type of activity by which a person earns a living or accumulates a fortune.
2. Thinking tends to become organized about activities.
3. Activity seems to influence thinking more than thinking affects activities.
4. Occupational activity develops an occupational egocentrism.
5. Occupational uniformities of thinking easily become customary and conventionalized.
6. Occupational uniformities of thinking develop into mental patterns.
7. Occupational thinking grows into organizations, institutions, and codes of ethics.
8. Occupation patterns lead to class cleavages and conflicts.
9. Government by occupational representation would give the unskilled and skilled workers dominance over the professions.

PROBLEMS

1. What is an occupation?
2. What is the difference between a trade and a profession?
3. In what sense does "work make the worker"?
4. Why do we tend to live our way into our thinking more than we think our way into our living?
5. Illustrate: occupational uniformities of thinking.
6. Compare the shop talk of any two occupations.
7. Distinguish between the professional ethics of any two professions.
8. What are the two or three main factors that determine a person's choice of occupation?
9. Why may a person ordinarily succeed equally well in more than one occupation?
10. Why do people who live a life of do-nothing luxury pride themselves upon being superior to hard-working folks?
11. What are the strong points of occupation representation in government? The weak points?
12. What would be superior to either geographic or occupational representation in government?
13. What is the relation of occupational attitudes to personality?
14. What is meant by occupational determinism?

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CHAPTER XXVIII

LARGE SCALE PUBLICS

THE expanding range of intersocial stimulation is evidenced by the historical succession of horde, tribe, tribal confederacy, city-state, feudal state, monarchical state, democratic nation-state, world organizations. It is natural that face-to-face groups are being supplemented by publics of increasing size, now defying national lines. The present trend is in the direction of world publics and world-wide loyalties. An increasing number of persons are attaining a scale of world attitudes. Complementary to an earlier discussion¹ on large-scale leadership is this chapter on large-scale publics. The latter are in process of formation and hence splendid subject matter for observation.

Although the existing world organizations are nearly all voluntary, with little legal power, although they are functioning largely as social units in their own behalf rather than in support of world community, although their leaders are not all world-visioned, they are laying the foundations for large-scale publics. Although half the world or more is illiterate, although hundreds of dialects keep people from understanding each other, although national and racial jealousies divide and subdivide the world into countless parts, there is an underlying tendency toward publics of superior size and meaning.

Improvements in rapid communication, in radio broadcasting, in television, are annihilating social and spatial distances, bringing peoples closer together daily around a world conference table. The possibilities of world empire, dreamed by Alexander, Cæsar, Napoléon, Wilhelm II, are gone; the rise of world publics is on the way. Founders of great religions have contributed to the oncoming of a world public, especially the Founder of Christianity who sought a world unity. He made the Great Sacrifice, and brought nearer a world religious public.

Studies of business cycles are revealing that "the forces which, in the long run, control the trend of prices, are world-wide rather than national in scope."² Business is pushing its activities to the ends of the earth;

¹ Chapter XIV.

² R. T. Ely, *Outlines of Economics* (Macmillan, 1923), p. 320.

labor, also, is establishing international unions. Neither employer nor employee needs differ the world around. Industrial depression in one country spreads to the ends of the earth. "World-wide depression" is a common phrase.

The essential unity of human minds everywhere has been recognized.³ The social patterns of life that are common to all peoples of the earth testify to world unity.⁴ "It is because the same relations in communication, thought, and tools everywhere prevail that the cultures of the world have the same form and manifest the same processes. This is what is meant by the universal pattern."⁵ The unity of mental processes among all peoples, and the diffusion theory of the spread of culture forecast the day when the world will have one culture and one civilization, not monotonous but variant.

Grotius and his successors who have developed international law had a world vision. The Hague Tribunal, although helpless in a real international crisis, was a step toward world community. The members of the League to Enforce Peace, although curiously stressing the idea of *enforcing* peace had a world dream. Woodrow Wilson, who planned the League of Nations, had a world ideal. The Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments, which was based on the dubious principle that independent nations should come to agreements on world matters without giving up even a small degree of sovereignty to a world organization, may be credited with promoting a world conscience. President Herbert Hoover and Premier Ramsay MacDonald pled for a world viewpoint and an open world diplomacy in arranging for the London Naval Conference of 1930. The Kellogg Peace Pact was a step toward a world peace public.

The efforts of all the exponents of international law, of world peace, of world religion, of world business, of world labor are gaining the support of world public opinions. The absence of a tangible world concept in the minds of nationalists everywhere prevents them from judging their respective groups in the light of world needs, but prompts them, as the Germans were led in 1914, to postulate false social values. Before wholesome world attitudes and a common world opinion can be developed on fundamentals, people everywhere will need to think more and more in big terms. There is an abundance of local minds, national minds, but only a comparative few minds capable of grasping the details of world problems. A world public is the natural result of world thinking.

³ Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (Macmillan, 1911), Ch. IV.

⁴ Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (Crowell, 1923), Ch. V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

AN EASTERN AND A WESTERN PUBLIC

Civilization has climbed the heights of hemisphere publics on its way toward a world public. There are exponents of Eastern civilization and of Western civilization, but the differences rather than the likenesses of the two receive major attention. The representatives of the Western social order are widely proclaiming the superiority of Occidentalism. They fail to study either at all or with unprejudiced minds the worthy points of Eastern life; they see chiefly its defects. They scarcely feel humble because of Western weaknesses. Likewise, many Eastern leaders are silently and politely pitying Western Chauvinists. Rabindranath Tagore freely expresses himself in scornful terms for Western greed; while another leader, Gandhi, openly repudiates the Western Machine-Age.

There is a need for the development of best traits of both Occidentalism and Orientalism, to eliminate the worst of both, and most of all, to synthesize the best values in both cultures. In other words, out of the major values of the East and West a set of world values greater than is now possessed in either East or West might be evolved. In this way the sure foundations for world publics might be laid.

A worthy trail in analyzing the best Occidental traits has been blazed by Charles A. Ellwood.⁶ In terms of his pioneer work, the social values in Western civilization originated at different times, extending from ancient to current days. Seven outstanding values may be noted. (1) A set of ethical and religious values was derived from the Hebrews and early Christians. In the former the major concept was justice; in the latter, love. (2) A number of philosophical and esthetic values was contributed by the Greeks. (3) Administrative and legal values, built around property rights, originated with the Romans. (4) Personal liberty values were developed by the early Teutons and carried forward in laissez faire doctrines in Western Europe and the United States. (5) Scientific methods have developed in the last few decades. (6) Business and industrial techniques have been especially outstanding in the last three centuries. (7) Humanitarian values have come to the front in the last fifty years. Welfare programs have been supplemented in recent years by such developments as the community chest movement.

Orientalism also possesses strategic values. Orientalism is known (1) for its self-sacrifice values, which make Occidentalism seem to the Oriental synonymous with organized selfishness. (2) There is the contemplativeness of Orientalism, culminating in metaphysics, and leading to quiet

⁶ *The Social Problem* (Macmillan, 1919), Ch. II.

and poise amid life's troubles. (3) In the East there is veneration for parents, for elders, for the tested and true from the past, for stability, for law. (4) There is a set of human courtesy and appreciative values, crystallizing in manners. (5) Orientalism is esthetic. It is mystically but not rationalistically philosophic. It fosters contemplation and adjustment with the universe. (6) Orientalism is noted for a social solidarity, which leads to sentiments of local and social obligation. The social and group standards are the major concepts; the individual and his notions are minor. In the East the family group is the unit, as compared with the individual and his pleasure in the West. (7) The Oriental lives in generalizations rather than in particularizations. This principle is basic to all of the foregoing six points.⁷

When the positive elements in Eastern and Western civilizations are brought together, certain conflicts seem to exist. Short-sighted persons proclaim the East and West to be in mortal combat, because of opposites in values. Upon careful reflection, however, many of these "opposites" turn out to be complements. They can be fitted together in a balanced fashion into bigger and better concepts than most people have yet dreamed of. They provide bases for a world public of gigantic proportions, of a new civilization, of a new cultural order. Note the possibilities:

1. Particularization plus generalization.
2. The scientifically rational plus the mystically philosophic.
3. The individual unit plus the group unit.
4. Horizontal affection plus vertical respect.
5. Facts plus concepts and meanings.
6. Individualism plus solidarity.
7. Personality plus impersonality.
8. Liberty plus social identification.
9. Frankness plus formality.
10. Action plus contemplation.
11. Finding and acquiring plus losing and sacrificing.
12. Dominating plus appreciating.
13. Possessing plus sharing.
14. The physical plus the psychical.
15. Anxiety plus tranquility.
16. Means of life plus sake of living.

In this list, the differences are in certain cases not opposites but varying degrees on the same scale of evolution. In other instances they are needed balances for life. Beneath the contrasts is genuine unity. The apparent contrasts are opposite phases of the same phenomenon. For example: the rationalist is also a mystic, but less mystical than the true

⁷ These outstanding values have been suggested to the writer from a number of sources, but chiefly by two Japanese scholars, Inazo Nitobe and K. S. Inui.

mystic. The latter is also a rationalist, but less of a rationalist than the true rationalist. He who particularizes also generalizes, but less so than does the true generalizationist; the latter in turn also particularizes but to a lesser degree than does the thorough-going particularist. Thus one might continue throughout the list of contrasts. After all, both Occidentalism and Orientalism are the products of a universal group life. In fundamentals there are amazing similarities. The color of the skin, the slant of the eye, the shape of the shin bone may vary; cultural heritages have become widely different from each other, but the processes of developing attitudes and values are similar, and the bases for a world public are not far to seek.

The laws of human nature, whether of the East or West, are evidently of the same patterns as the laws of physical nature and the universe. In the physical realms we find adjustment and harmony built out of so-called opposites. The centrifugal and centripetal forces operate to produce a *universe*; the forces of heredity and variation produce standardized species and races. If this is a dualistic universe, it is nevertheless a *uni*-verse. There is one harmony, and within this harmony there are apparently contradictory elements, centripetal and centrifugal, heredity and variation, stability and change, evolution and revolution, solidarity and individualism, coöperation and conflict, conservatism and radicalism, the positive and the negative. The presumption behind a world public is a synergizing of Orientalism and Occidentalism, although one may dominate the other, and a one-sided, unbalanced world public develop. Herewith is a concrete situation:

Perhaps it was the slowness of white men to master the fine points of Congo etiquette that led Malanga, a proud but kindly man living beside the Congo river, to give his grandson Moklawa, a few words of counsel when the latter was going to work for a white man. "Now, Moklawa," he said, "You are going to work for this white man, and it is well, for you can learn from him many useful things, but remember this, that though the white man is clever in making things, he does not understand the finer things of life." That was a case of turning the tables on white conceit with a vengeance, but it was an absolutely sincere expression of Moklawa's impression of white men. It was not in any sense meant for white ears.

Having lived for six years in very close contact with Congo tribesmen, I do not hesitate to say that they do not differ from us essentially in the appreciation of courtesy, unless perhaps one would say that they are just a bit more given to it than we are, and a little less likely to assume, in case people are careless, that no discourtesy was really meant. It hardly seems necessary to say any more to make it clear that relationships among Congo people are on essentially the same social basis as among white peoples.⁸

⁸ L. Foster Wood, "Cultured White Men," *Sociology and Social Research*, XV: 265.

So far there are two semi-world publics, with some of the contacts being disreputable. Commercial traders, opium and rum dealers from the West have disgraced Occidentalism by imposing their destructive wares upon a docile East. The impact of Western industrialism and Western freethinking upon the East has been disintegrating, producing a "loss of equilibrium."⁹ Western motion pictures are turning the East against the West. Eastern traditionalism is scorned by the West.

Nationalism since the World War has been blocking the rise of a world public. Christian missionary leaders from the West have met with rebuffs in the East, because the East does not want a Westernized Christianity; it wants a Christianity that has not come through the crass molds of the West. China, for example, wants a Chinese Christianity and not an American interpretation forced upon her. Buddhist leaders in Japan are adapting, for example, the American Sunday School idea to Buddhism. In the West, however, there is an adoption of Eastern culture here and there, but it does not seem to fit well. Nevertheless, there is a mutual infiltration and the making of a world public is on the way.

WORLD PUBLIC VALUES

It now remains to examine some of the values out of which a world public is developing. 1. The world as a single community is becoming psychically one faster than racially one. Whether man had a common origin or more than one origin, he dispersed in various directions over the earth. In migrating, human beings encountered different situations and developed many different environments and cultures. In recent decades a movement toward unification has set in. Despite increasing nationalism and the putting up of immigration bars, the radio has shot back and forth over national barriers. Better means of communication is bringing about a more rapid exchange of culture traits than ever before. Inventors in communication have brought the people of the world into closer contact and made possible a world public.

A common world culture is developing. It shows marked variations according to clime and natural resources but it is also growing in unity. Differences in physical environments persist and continue to function in producing the dark-skinned and light-skinned, sunny and serious peoples, but racial admixtures are increasing with growth in culture similarities.

2. Persons everywhere are growing in social responsibility. They are

⁹ M. Anasaki, *The Religious and Social Problems of the Orient* (Macmillan, 1923), Chs. III, IV.

being forced to do this, or to perish. Wars will extinguish all who do not accept something more than national responsibility. Puny conceptions of personal responsibility are self-defeating. The first persons to accept a world responsibility have been misunderstood and stoned to death. Some have died and others have suffered imprisonment rather than submit to narrow racial, religious, or national ideals.

3. The world is slowly moving toward a world political unity superior to that of the most powerful nations of to-day, and yet zealously guarding the needs of nations as such. As Premier Ramsay MacDonald has said that Great Britain cannot afford to move too far ahead of the other nations in abolishing armaments, so no nation can isolate itself by getting ahead or behind the procession too far. The new world organization is being built out of the virtues of present-day nations; it is not abolishing nations but fostering them as long as they work for the planetary good. A world order is doing away slowly with hypernationalism, chauvinism, and provincialism. It is eliminating the present suspicious balance of power theory in international politics, the secret treaty scheming, and territorial aggrandizements.

4. Despite movements to the contrary a democratic world public is developing. History throws overwhelming doubt on the possibility of a world structure built out of autocratic principles without carrying in itself the seeds of decay and self-destruction. Rulership from the top down exclusively falls to the ground of its own weight.

Autocratic leaders soon feel the stinging whip of public opinion. They survive only as long as they appear in the cloak of sentimental and "patriotic" nationalists who are "defending" their country against subtle foes; or they survive only as they appear in the guise of being "of the people" and democratically-minded.

Not autocracy but aristocracy exists with democracy in world community. The tendency is toward a democratic aristocracy, an aristocracy that is guided by the best minds, that seeks to meet needs of all, that is not wasting itself in extravagant living, that stimulates all persons to achieve increasingly higher levels of service. An aristocratic democracy is a democracy of social aristocrats, not a democracy of inferiors, morons, debauchees. It is a democracy of men and women of superior attitudes, of socialized attitudes. It is a high-bred democracy. With such values, a world public would achieve the illimitable.

A world public opinion is already on the social horizon. Neither labor nor capital, for instance, is entitled to full control. One has as its chief goal, wages or the income from production; the other, profits, or, again,

income from production. These ends, however, are materialistic and in conflict with spiritual values. An enduring world public is being built on service values rather than on money values, not only in the professions but in business and industry. Increasing numbers of persons are striving with one another in rendering service—some for special rewards, but many without any thought of personal gain. Profitism and speculation are unsound elements out of which to build an enduring world public; they are being supplanted here and there by service attitudes; they are being driven to justify themselves on some kind of a service basis. A creditable advance has been made in putting service standards in charge of many of the professions, such as the ministry, teaching, medicine, the judiciary, social work, and so on. Service vocabularies have captured business, the stronghold of destructive competition and profitism. As business, however, becomes a profession, it too will grow socialized, and when business gives up destructive competition and profitism for salaries, for all services rendered, a new world day will have arrived.

At present, service attitudes are being widely profaned. People render service for profits; they render service for public esteem; they serve you if you will serve them more in return. Even gamblers and bootleggers operate under the service banner. The road is long before the world will be composed of people who render service for the sake of service, and a socialized world public is remote but not unthinkable.

5. Despite counter currents, the world is becoming more and more spiritual. The trend of evolution is from the dominance of the physical forces to control by spiritual forces. An emergent evolution brings forward psychical forces into positions of social control. For decades the need has been urgent for a universal language, common to all mankind. Commercial radio will hasten such a world medium. A truly international university would further the evolution of a world public.

A plan to secure "world team-work" has been suggested¹⁰ whereby each of the nations annually would train 2000 leaders in politics, science, and internationalism; 1000 to come from the home country, and 200 from each of five other countries. In this way a real interchange of ideas and coöperative programs of world welfare could be effected. Leaders in world affairs thus would be trained in all the important countries.

A world public opinion would require world leaders and people educated to perceive world horizons. Such a world humanitarianism is not enough, for it has no goal outside itself and hence would become self-centered. A goal outside and beyond humanity is needed, or else a world

¹⁰ *Survey*, Sept. 15, 1923.

public opinion would travel in circles. Public opinion is a process, and a world public opinion needs a director.

PROPOSITIONS

1. With the development of new means of communication, larger publics are developing.
2. Public opinion is crossing national boundary lines and taking on a world-wide character.
3. Industrial, commercial, religious, recreational, political activities and the like are developing universal meanings and creating world-wide publics with corresponding public opinions.
4. The unity of human minds now receiving acceptance is the logical foundation of world public opinions.
5. International law gives stability to world unity of minds.
6. Two hemispherical publics, represented by Oriental and Occidental civilizations, are in process.
7. These semi-world publics have developed around supplementary sets of values.
8. World values are assuming form as bases of world public opinions.
9. A developing world culture likewise is in process and as a guarantee of the reality of world public opinions.

PROBLEMS

1. What is meant by the "essential unity of human minds"?
2. Explain "world community."
3. What is signified by the term, world progress?
4. Give an illustration of a world public at the present time.
5. Why are world publics only recently beginning to develop?
6. What are world values?
7. How are world values related to world public opinions?
8. Does nationalism help or hinder the growth of world public opinion?
9. How is humanism related to world public opinion?
10. Is a world language necessary before world publics on a large scale can develop?
11. Why are there so few competent leaders of world public opinion?

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CHAPTER XXIX

PUBLIC OPINION

EVERY group large or small is characterized to-day by something that passes for public opinion. The term, like the concept of instinct, is used in so many different senses that it is almost invalid scientifically. Its use is so extensive and its possible substitutes are so inadequate that attempts to save it for scientific usage are probably justified.

TYPES OF PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion is a term used in at least three important senses. 1. Often it refers to a general or preponderant opinion. This type has never had much if any thinking put into it. It is a set of reactions to which persons have fallen social heir, and have accepted uncritically. It is closely related to traditional beliefs. It is the prevailing undercurrent opinion. There is a preponderant or general opinion in the United States in favor of individualism, of private property, of peace, of monogamy, of the republican form of government.

2. Public opinion is widely used to mean a majority opinion, which implies the existence of a minority opinion or several minority opinions. Public opinion in this sense means at least two public opinions, a majority and a minority; it means that there has been some discussion, that some thinking has been done, that sides have been taken, and that decisions have been made. The total situation thus includes a majority opinion, one or more minority opinions, and a neutral group. The phrase "a divided opinion" means that there are two or more public opinions of equal strength. There is a public opinion in the sense of a majority opinion in the United States at the present writing, of a protective tariff, of regulating interstate commerce, of delaying independence to the Philippines, of staying out of the League of Nations.

3. Public opinion may be used to mean a consensus of opinion, or for short, a consensus opinion. This type of public opinion means that there has been a non-partizan discussion, mutual exchange of ideas, a pooling of ideas on some problem, creative thinking as a result of interstimulation,

and arrival at a commonly accepted judgment. The chairman or leader announces after a full and free discussion that "it is the sense of this meeting that" a certain plan be approved, and hearing no dissent makes official the consensus opinion. Small groups are best fitted to arrive at a consensus opinion. Large groups, except as they select highly qualified representatives, are prevented by their size from arriving at a common opinion. It is very easy in fact to degenerate into taking sides and to precipitate a fight for or against some particularly desired end, rather than seeking the truth irrespective of which "side" may be favored.

ORIGINS OF PUBLIC OPINION

The origins of public opinion, used in the sense of majority opinion, may be considered in terms of (1) interaction processes and (2) personal activities; that is, *What* makes public opinion? and *Who* makes public opinion?

What makes public opinion? 1. As the term suggests, it is composed first of all *opinions*. The opinions of persons when integrated constitute a *public opinion*. Opinions are superficial and changeable, very numerous and very cheap. They constitute a large section of the contents of a public opinion and yet for the most part are unreliable. Opinions are made up chiefly of impressions; they are often the reflections of rumors and myths.

2. *Attitudes* are origins of public opinions. Attitudes are tendencies to act, more deep-seated than opinions, closer to the core of personality. They often determine the nature of opinions. One can change his opinions without discredit but not so, as a rule, his attitudes. Attitudes are sturdy expressions of human experiences.

3. *Experiences* speak louder than words. One disagreeable experience may be generalized upon and turn a person against a whole race. Both the direct experiences of a person and the derivative or hearsay experiences (experiences of his close friends and of his loved ones) are effective. They hold the keys to change in public opinion. Modify a people's experiences and their public opinions will surely change also.

4. *Stereotypes* are the standardized reactions to experiences which determine how future experiences will be interpreted.¹ Stereotypes are the authorities to which new facts and experiences are automatically referred for evaluation. Stereotypes are composites of images derived from past experiences. They become relatively fixed, such as stereotypes of preachers,

¹ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (Harcourt, Brace, 1922), p. 3.

college professors, villains in motion pictures; they cannot be effaced except through the passage of time and many experiences. It is stereotypes which are so deadly when they embody biases and prejudices. Arguments, facts, and ordinary experiences do not faze them much.

Important in considering public opinion is the fact that people think in terms of standardized images. These may be made out of truth or rumor. Out of myths, false interpretations, and distorted facts, people construct defective pictures. People get to thinking in stereotypes and then bend experiences to fit the stereotypes rather than construct new symbols to fit new experiences. Or to change the figure, they are molds into which persons come to fit themselves "as snugly as in an old shoe."

No wonder, then, that any disturbance of the stereotypes seems like an attack upon the foundations of the universe. It is an attack upon the foundations of *our* universe, and, where big things are at stake, we do not readily admit that there is any distinction between our universe and the universe. A world which turns out to be one in which those we honor are unworthy, and those we despise are noble, is nerve-wracking. There is anarchy if our order of precedence is not the only possible one.²

Different stereotypes are developed by different social groups for the same phenomenon. As persons describe an accident differently, so groups vary in their stereotypes of a given prominent personality. Phenomena stand for different things to different groups, depending on their interests.

Says Rabbi E. R. Trattner: To the Socialists, Jesus is understood as a forerunner of Karl Marx; to the single-taxer He is the direct predecessor of Henry George; to the spiritualist He is the first psychic; to the Christian Scientist He receives His correct historical setting in the metaphysical teachings of Mrs. Eddy. Thus every "ism," every sect, denomination, or party manufactures the kind of Jesus it wants.³

5. *Configuration of personality* is all-important in analyzing public opinion. Since one's personality is the organization of all his attitudes and stereotypes, since it is the meanings of all his past experiences rolled into one, every new experience is at its mercy. Two persons react in opposite ways to the same public issue—why? Largely because the configurations of their personalities are different. If you would anticipate how a person will react to a public question, you need to understand the configuration of his personality.

6. *Configuration of communality* is a source of public opinions. Every group of persons of common interests (communality) has had similar

² Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, p. 3.

³ *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 24, 1923, Part II, p. 3.

culture backgrounds which have given a configuration of personality to each individual. Most individuals born in an active Christian community acquire early a Christian configuration of personality; in a Buddhist community, a Buddhist configuration. It is into sets of culture traits that individuals are born and with reference to which their earliest, most sensitive reactions are organized.

7. Configurations of communality carry the *mores* or the ways of doing and thinking that are considered essential to group welfare. The mores have powerful sanctions; children are taught them; adults live by them. Some of them are not even discussable. Challenge or defense of the mores is the essence of many public opinion situations.

Who Makes Public Opinion? 1. There are the persons whose occupations make them representatives of public issues; they include legislators, judges, and administrative officials. These people are in the limelight, but often receive more credit than is their due as opinion creators. Legislators, for example, often represent public opinions rather than create them.

2. There are people who in their private professions, such as lawyers, clergy, journalists, motion picture actors, are expressing themselves on public questions. Lawyers continually "take sides" on public issues; the clergy speak regularly in behalf of morals, while the journalist and the motion picture stars are busily engaged in expressing attitudes of general interest.

3. Behind the aforementioned groups are promoters and the representatives of special interests, who own, employ, or dominate a vast army of legislators, lawyers, clergy, journalists, and motion picture actors. The extent of this influence is admittedly great; its power is expressed so subtly and so indirectly that it must be ranked high as a maker of public opinion. Periodically works of fiction or motion picture films appear, in which the author or writer has used a worthy social value as a cloak for propaganda. Even thinking people are deceived thereby. John Galsworthy declares public opinion is no longer made by peoples but by three strong social institutions:

To sum up, governments and peoples are no longer in charge. Our fate is really in the hands of the three great powers—Science, Finance, and the Press. Underneath the showy political surface of things, those three great powers are secretly determining the march of the nations; and there is little hope for the future unless they can mellow and develop on international lines.⁴

Apropos of this observation were the announcements a few years ago that Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook had secured a monopoly of the

⁴ "International Thought: Key to the Future," *Living Age*, Vol. 319, p. 399.

popular press of Great Britain, and that Hearst aspired to own a hundred daily newspapers in the United States. The tendency of the metropolitan press "to pass into the hands of an ever smaller body of rich men" is probably not wholesome for democracy. Of Galsworthy's triumverate, Finance is perhaps the chief offender, for it "buys up" both Science and the Press. Politics is undoubtedly a fourth offender, for it manipulates the public in behalf of Finance.

4. There are the persons scientifically trained in analyzing social situations, who are interested in personality growth, who have combined their love of humanity with a broad vision, and who in journals, magazines, in public schools and colleges, on the lecture platform and in the pulpit, are devoting their lives to creating progressive opinion. Sometimes these persons become ardent champions and fight courageously for woman suffrage, prohibition, birth control, a shorter work day. Sometimes they labor quietly as social welfare workers. Generally they are in conflict with group three.

5. There are numerous people engaged on farms, in shops, in homes, attending to "their own business," who are characterized by common sense, sympathy, a sense of fair play; who are daily expressing themselves in their respective circles on public questions.⁵ There is always a large amount of talk going on among them and the sum total of influence is great. They constitute a quiet but substantial social force; they stand pat, grow restless, or as neutrals are likely to swing one way or another.

6. Another group of public opinion makers is composed of radicals, agitators, and persons who are "agin" whatever is. They are sure that whatever is, is wrong. They feel that since things are about as bad as possible, any change will be an improvement. These persons have usually been "up against" life at its harshest, feel deeply, and move the representatives of the *status quo* to make some improvements purely in defense. By their negative activities they exert considerable influence.

7. Numerous are those who do little thinking and reading, who are scarcely interested in public matters at all, whose horizons are limited, who vote as "Bill" or "Tom" tell them to vote. Their sense of social responsibility being almost nil, they act as their manipulators direct them, and consequently constitute at election times definite blocks of opinion which count at the ballot box for as much as the most intelligent voters.

⁵ See A. D. Weeks, *The Control of the Social Mind* (Appleton, 1923), p. 72.

PROCESS OF PUBLIC OPINION ⁶

Public opinion is on the go. It is different to-day from what it was yesterday. The day after an election it is different from what it was twenty-four hours earlier. Public opinion is rarely static; it is a process. The players disagree but the play moves on from prologue to epilogue.

The public opinion process generally starts with some change in the mores. At some point culture lags behind human needs and a movement is inaugurated to speed up the lagging folkways and mores. Certain inventions or economic changes threaten the mores, and at once a defense is set up.

1. *Aggravation* may be called the first phase of the public opinion process. Some persons have become aggravated because of a culture lag, or because of a threat to prized culture traits. Attention, disturbance of mind, chagrin are accompaniments. There is a recognition that something needs to be done or defended. Feelings run high.

2. The second phase is one of *informal initiation*. Talk is the medium. People are told of the culture lag or of the attack on the mores. Word spreads from mouth to mouth, and discussion is started. What can be done about it? is a prevailing question. The need for action is recognized and plans are outlined.

Formal initiation of a movement follows. Organizations are formed; publicity in the press is secured; mass meetings may be called; special literature and propaganda are started out from dynamic centers. A campaign to change something, or to defend, is on. The former is cooler and more rational, plans frequently for a long battle; if the danger is greater, the latter is more keyed up, more likely to resort to subtleties.

Counter movements are inaugurated. The attempt to speed up a lagging culture trait is met by defenders of the old. The movement to defend the mores is paralleled by a more powerful attack. Conflict lines are drawn more closely. Two public opinions come out into the open.

3. *Partizan investigations* follow. The first skirmishes between two rising public opinions are characterized by claims without adequate facts, by telling arguments that cannot be met at the moment, by challenges that are weakly answered, sometimes by more heat than light. If the issue is momentous then the opposing public seek new data. Investigations are made, but after the fashion of debaters. Each side looks for certain facts and ignores other facts. Each side magnifies certain data and minimizes or scorns other data.

Partizan investigations are followed by partizan arguments. Each side

⁶ The materials appearing on pp. 363-364 are based, in part, on a study by Roy M. Youngman entitled "Studies in the Social Psychology of Reform" appearing in syllabus form under date of December 28, 1926.

makes out a winning case for itself, well buttressed by data. The neutral public can hardly tell where the truth lies, so adroitly do the arguments run.

4. *Discussion* increases. The piling up of two mountains of seemingly contradictory data provide discussions, some cool and collected; others heated and hectic. Radio talks contradict one another; newspaper accounts use invective; circulars distributed at homes challenge one another. Small groups gather on sidewalks; individuals meet in homes and in business houses and privately discuss the issue.

5. Discussion leads to *re-evaluation*. Partizans rarely change; they may secretly undergo modifications in attitudes but rarely announce or admit these changes—not at least during a given campaign. Discussion brings neutrals into the open and to decisions. They are free to reconsider, for they have not committed themselves. The lukewarm on either side are free to re-evaluate the arguments and data, and to shift sides. Free and fair discussion leads to clarification.

6. A *decision* day comes sooner or later. A day of reckoning comes when votes are cast and counted. Every one must decide whether he is affirmative or negative, or not interested sufficiently to vote, or deadlocked. Often an affirmative or negatives vote does a gross injustice, especially when not only two sides but many sides of a question have been uncovered. When the several sides are put into either a pro or a con classification, it is found that much which is unworthy appears on the affirmative, that much which is worth while accompanies the negative, and vice versa.

7. After decision comes a *re-definition* of practice (enforcement) and a re-definition of the folkways or mores (changed beliefs). Enforcement is easy if the decision is one-sided, but difficult if the decision is close. It is most difficult where the socially powerful are in the minority. They can manipulate and confound the enforcement representatives of the majority.

There is also a re-definition of the mores, relating either to a modification or entrenchment of a victorious mores, or to the disqualified mores. Often the mores win but nevertheless submit to substantial change. Sometimes the folkways or mores lose, but appear again as parts of a new culture trait. At any rate a re-definition of social foundations has occurred, and remains until a new public opinion process is initiated.

MECHANISMS OF PUBLIC OPINION

Opinion spreads in different ways: partly by appealing to certain behavior patterns, partly through leaders, partly through institutions, such

as the newspaper, partly by professional means, such as definitely organized propaganda, partly by the indirect means of systematic education. 1. Opinion multiplies because of similarity in mental constitution. Since people possess similar behavior patterns, a stimulus that will "set off" one will release countless similar patterns.

(a) There are long cherished traditions to which appeals can be made that will always bring the desired responses. The demagogue is an expert in stirring up the tradition patterns.⁷ (b) Then there is a pattern type which involves "a continued satisfaction in holding a firm opinion." People can be appealed to easily to "stand pat," to remain loyal, to be dependable, and as a result they will not change even when logical grounds warrant.⁸

(c) "It is a natural habit of mind to accept the familiar and believe the expected."⁹ By making the new familiar and by arousing expectations, surprising support can be developed. Wishful thinking accelerates the spread of opinions from person to person. (d) Then there are intolerance mechanisms and an unwillingness to be reminded of the other side. Even educated people, college graduates, university professors, and ministers, can be appealed to because of what they will not tolerate. (e) A shift of satisfaction mechanism may also be cited. Speakers turn attention to what is pleasing and win support even though logical grounds are missing.¹⁰

2. Leaders are public opinion mechanisms. What a leader says or does travels down through the ranks. Leaders "make the unframed purposes of the mass vocal." In primitive days the chieftain and medicine man were the kingpins of group opinion. Then came the minister who a century or so ago in the United States, being the best educated person in the community, was generally looked to for counsel. The editor, independent owner of his newspaper, such as Greeley or Dana, proclaimed untrammelled opinion. Lawyers came to the front as leaders in Congress and elsewhere and became public opinion makers. More recently, business has taken the reins, operating the metropolitan press, employing the lawyers, and influencing educators and actors.¹¹

3. Institutions as opinion mechanisms are best illustrated by the newspaper. In fact the newspaper, supported of course by the telegraph, made public opinion on a large scale possible. The newspaper enabled large

⁷ Edward Mims, *The Advancing South* (Doubleday, Page, 1926), p. 20.

⁸ W. H. Kilpatrick, *Teachers College Record*, XXIV: 419.

⁹ Graham R. Taylor, *National Conference of Social Work*, XIX: 494.

¹⁰ W. H. Kilpatrick, *Teachers College Record*, XXIV: 418.

¹¹ See Part II of this book for a discussion of how leaders reflect group or public opinion.

publics to develop, composed of people who were not only feeling alike on a specific issue, but who knew that they were feeling alike, and who thus developed a rough kind of unity.

The newspaper has been described as an "organized gossip" mechanism.¹² Cooley says that it is copious, designed to occupy without exerting the mind, appeals to superficial emotion, is untrustworthy except upon a few matters, and contains "a mass of commonplace information for a minimum of attention." It does promote, however, "a widespread sociability and sense of community."¹³ Through fear of getting into the limelight people develop a popular, somewhat vulgar, but sound human standard of morality.

4. *Propaganda* is a means of putting something special over on a somewhat unsuspecting public. In recent years the molding of public opinion by private interests has become an organized business. Through advertising, through the coloration of news, through the omission of certain facts it is easy to hoodwink the general public. There is scarcely an issue of a metropolitan newspaper that does not afford illustrations of the attempt to influence public opinion in behalf of particular interests under the guise of concern for the whole.

For years prior to 1914 the leading European governments, particularly the German government, carried on an extensive program of controlling opinion. In Germany the method was thoroughly organized to the extent of controlling the public schools, the teachers, and the children. All governments suppress certain news and release other news in behalf of definite governmental policies.

War-time propaganda is most striking. The worst atrocities of the enemy are repeatedly dwelt upon in order to create hate. The best of the home country behavior is released for the purpose of developing loyalty at home. Moreover, during war time rumors are reported and spread as facts if they reflect against the enemy's behavior. Truth about evils at home is promptly censored.

The largest high-pressure campaign to influence a whole nation group within the shortest possible time was conducted in the United States in 1917 and 1918. After the people had reelected Woodrow Wilson president in November, 1916, for having "kept us out of war," it was necessary for the Administration the next April, following the declaration of war, to inaugurate a nation-wide program to reverse the opinion of a peace-loving general public. Machinery was set up whereby 75,000 four-

¹² Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (Scribner's, 1918), p. 84.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

minute men delivered more than 750,000 speeches to an aggregate of over 300,000,000 individuals.¹⁴ Every two weeks literature was sent to 600,000 teachers, and 200,000 lantern slides were circulated. Over 1,400 different designs for posters, cartoons, window cards, billboards, newspaper advertisements, buttons, and seals were made. In addition there was William McAdoo's "stupendous organization," for the Liberty Loans, Herbert Hoover's far-reaching efforts in behalf of food conservation, and the Red Cross and similar campaigns.¹⁵ In consequence a tremendous shift in general opinion took place and a powerful public opinion was created "to make the world safe for democracy."

So much propaganda has been harmful and deceptive that the term has become odious. Propaganda, however, may be quite useful. Propaganda in behalf of the general welfare, providing it does not distort facts, or present certain facts as the whole truth or does not use "tricky" methods, is generally commended. The propaganda used in the United States during the World War appealed to the general welfare, although it had among its supporters "interests" which were making "millions" out of a broad-gauge cause. It set up compelling slogans, some of which were too idealistic to be carried out in this generation.

Another type of constructive propaganda is found in reform movements such as a woman suffrage campaign. A picturesque and dramatic illustration of a long-drawn-out but none the less intense program to influence public opinion and to get more freedom for women was the woman suffrage movement in the United States, which was really one "pauseless campaign" of fifty-two years' duration. One generation of women started it and laid it down without success, but another generation took it up and carried it to fruitful victory. It included sub-campaigns as follows:

Fifty-six campaigns of referenda to male voters, 480 campaigns to get legislatures to submit amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to get state constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions, 277 campaigns to get state party conventions to include woman suffrage planks; 30 campaigns to get presidential party conventions to adopt suffrage planks in party platforms, and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses.¹⁶

A counter propaganda movement was carried on. Those who felt that woman suffrage would hinder their cause, such as the liquor interests, and certain other forms of big business, banded together, worked through the political parties and otherwise to defeat "votes for women." The ma-

¹⁴ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (Harcourt, Brace, 1922), p. 46.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁶ Catt and Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics* (Scribner's, 1923), p. 107.

chinery of the dominant political parties from 1860 on "used their enormous organized power to block every move on behalf of woman suffrage."¹⁷ As a result the woman suffrage movement which was started in this country before it got under motion in other nations was delayed until twenty-six countries preceded the United States in giving women equality in suffrage. Moreover, this happened in a country that prides itself on being "the land of the free." "Why this delay?" ask Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie R. Shuler; they answer by showing how Politics throttled suffrage: "It was not an antagonistic public sentiment, nor yet an uneducated or indifferent public sentiment—it was the control of public sentiment through the trading and the trickery, the buying and selling of American politics."¹⁸

Propaganda is as old as mankind. It is either open or secret. When secret it is most dangerous, for it hoodwinks. When used to deceive people regarding public questions it sinks to the pernicious. Of it James Bryce once said: "Propaganda is twin brother to advertising, but goes beyond commercial advertising in that control of fundamental attitudes on great issues is sought, and not infrequently for no perceptible benefit to the people whose sentiments are thus commandeered and dominated."¹⁹

Propaganda has many unjustifiable methods which may be illustrated by two in particular: one is misrepresentation; the other, breaking down defenses. (a) "Illusions of universality" are created.²⁰ Headlines are often used to give exaggerated impressions. Public speakers say: "It is conceded," when only a few are doing the conceding. The announcement is made that "there is widespread reaction against," when the "reaction against" may be exceedingly limited. An uncritical person thus falsely gets the idea that certain things are universal when in reality they are rare.

(b) Repetition is the secret of much opinion dissemination. "A mind which will reject on a single statement an alleged fact as obviously false will on the fiftieth statement of the same alleged fact admit that there must be something to it."²¹ A great deal of advertising sets forth certain goods or certain patterns of action until defense mechanisms break down and people "give in."

5. *Education* is an indirect, long-term mechanism underlying the rise of public opinion. By educating it is possible in the uncritical years of

¹⁷ Catt and Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, p. 107.

¹⁸ *Woman Suffrage and Politics* (Scribner's, 1923), p. VIII.

¹⁹ *Modern Democracies* (Macmillan, 1888), I: 156ff.

²⁰ F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (Houghton Mifflin, 1924), pp. 308, 309.

²¹ F. J. McConnell, *Public Opinion and the Steel Strike of 1919*, p. 265.

childhood to lay the foundations for later public opinion. Education molds the subsoil of public opinion and at the same time furnishes the active stimuli for effecting changes in public opinion. It may reinforce a prevailing opinion that supports the traditions, or it may upset preponderant opinion by sowing the seeds of unrest.

FUNCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Public opinion deeply affects behavior. It is such a powerful control that only the strongest minded persons can stand out against it. It compels unpatriotic citizens to buy Liberty Bonds, to respond cheerfully to special public service calls, to live better morally than their desires dictate, to meet regularly a minimum of group responsibilities. It functions without delay; it shouts praise or blame hastily after a person acts. It is prompter than law.

Public opinion is an inexpensive method of regulating persons. It requires no courts, no lawyer's fees; it works gratuitously. As in the case of law it is preventive, for people anticipate its onslaught and modify their conduct accordingly. It is more flexible than custom or law. It strikes ruthlessly into secret places and fearlessly ferrets out motives. If only it could be accurate!

Opinion travels on the tongues of gossip and is greatly exaggerated by professional tale-bearers. It is not precise or codified. It muddles, distorts, and contradicts. It provokes people to violent rage and whimsical performances.

Public opinion is faulty as a control because it does not represent group unanimity. It is composed of several sub-group opinions bunched together as a majority opinion. Moreover, an offender can usually find some group members in whose opinion his acts are condoned, excused, or even praised and applauded. When responsibility is vague, as it is oftentimes in the case of corporate misconduct, public opinion wavers, loses its force, and allows the guilty to escape its lash; but again, when it approaches unanimity it displays cyclonic social power.

GAUGING PUBLIC OPINION

All persons dependent directly on public opinion for the success of their enterprises are continually trying to gauge it and its possible changes. Politicians particularly are engaged continually in studying by self-made, practical methods the drift of public opinion. In many cases being a

politician consists chiefly in finding out this drift and taking advantage of it. Successful politicians develop surprising accuracy in calculating the trend. Now and then they miss it as in the case of a former postmaster general who made a Christmas appeal on behalf of a disbarred motion picture actor, which appeal was met by a flood of protest from all over the country.

Chief executives such as Presidents Harding and Coolidge may not wish to initiate anything contrary to "the will of the people." They may be quite content with "normalcy" or the "*status quo*" or "standing pat." Having determined what the major interests want, they aim to do the bidding of these interests. Not so with a chief executive such as Roosevelt, who sought out what the whole country needed and, if major interests opposed these needs, he fought them by appealing to the inchoate opinion of the masses.

Statesmen are more likely to err in gauging public opinion than are politicians, for they are not so able to keep in touch with so large a range of people. President Wilson's appeal in November, 1918, to the public to elect Democratic congressmen in order that his policies might be carried forward met sharp reactions from all over the nation. Moreover, his appeals to the general public to support the League of Nations also misjudged the temper of the people. Lloyd George, however, was so often a good judge of public opinion that in the several years of his premiership he put forth contradictory programs in his attempts to do "the people's will," and was dubbed a politician. He who would correctly measure the trend of public opinion must keep daily company not with a few trusted advisers or a particular set or professional group; he can make dependable judgments only "by moving freely about among all sorts and conditions of men and noting how they are affected by the news or the arguments brought from day to day to their knowledge."²²

Straw ballots are a common but unreliable method of judging public opinion. When they represent a true sample on a large scale they approximate the truth. But too often they are used to secure an expression of selected opinion which is announced as representing the whole.

Scientific methods for gauging public opinion are developing but are still in experimental stages. The latest techniques do not hold a person down to a yes or no opinion, but give him several choices, representing a graded scale of attitudes. Such a scale not only gives a fairly correct representation of opinion but also may be used to measure changes in opinion.

²² James Bryce, *Modern Democracies* (Macmillan, 1888), I: 156.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Public opinion may represent simply an unthinking preponderant opinion reflecting the mores.
2. Public opinion may refer to a majority and a minority opinion on a public issue.
3. Public opinion may be a consensus of carefully thought out integrated opinion.
4. Public opinion originates in personal opinions, attitudes, experiences, stereotypes, configurations of personality and community.
5. Public opinion is a process involving several phases, such as aggravation, initiation, partizan investigation, discussion, re-evaluation, decision, re-definition, and enforcement.
6. Public opinion is often made by special interests which control the press.
7. The mechanisms of public opinion are partly subjective, such as "a continued satisfaction in holding a firm opinion," or the tendency to "accept the familiar and believe the expected."
8. Leaders and institutions are objective mechanisms of producing public opinion.
9. Propaganda is a subtle and hence dangerous maker of public opinion.
10. Education is an indirect, long-term, far-reaching creator of public opinion.
11. Public opinion functions as an inexpensive, but powerful method of social control.
12. Public opinion is a faulty agent of social control, for it is fickle, contradictory, not codified.
13. Some persons such as politicians become experts in gauging public opinion.

PROBLEMS

1. Contrast *preponderant opinion* with *majority opinion*.
2. How may a majority opinion be distinguished from a *consensus opinion*?
3. When public opinion is used to refer to a majority and a minority opinion is it correct to say that there are two public opinions?
4. Why is there not more consensus opinion than there is?
5. In what ways is public opinion different from personal opinion?
6. What is meant by "the pictures in our head"?
7. Why is debating a poor method of getting at the truth of a question?
8. How do you account for "the tyranny of the majority"?
9. How may a democracy protect itself against the tyranny of the majority?
10. What is the relation of public opinion to democracy?
11. How are public opinion and law related?
12. Which could get along the better without the other?
13. What is the connection between public opinion and the newspaper?
14. Is a strong party system, such as exists in the United States, favorable or unfavorable to the development of a sound public opinion?
15. Illustrate a current or recent change in public opinion.
16. Have you ever participated in the formation of a consensus opinion?

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CHAPTER XXX

GROUP CONFLICTS

ANOTHER important phase of group psychology is the conflicts which take place between the members of competitive groups. In fact conflicts often keep groups alive. Sometimes conflicts become chronic and lead to group disorganization and destruction. Conflicts are both intra-group and between groups, but intra-group conflicts are in reality sub-group conflicts. Racial and national conflicts are among the most persistent and vicious. Both religious and industrial group conflicts have an equally notorious record.

BASES OF CONFLICTS

Competition and Status. Scarcity of things that people want creates conflicts. As long as there is more than enough, conflict does not arise. But when two dogs have only one bone between them, a fight is on. When there is only one office and two anxious candidates appear; when territory is limited and population increases; when laborers organize and employers resist—then conflicts grow destructive.

Status may often be gained by starting a fight. Increased status is certain if a person or group by honorable means brings victory out of a conflict. Many a person or group has unwillingly been drawn into a conflict and then has had to keep up the conflict or be called a "quitter" and hence lose status.

Prejudice and Ignorance. Group conflicts which plunge people into holocausts often root in ancient prejudices. Thus the past often drives the present into conflicts. Long-standing animosities keep swords well sharpened. Past prejudices make it easy to touch off a race riot in the South (United States), a clash between Mohammedans and Hindus in India, between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, between Koreans and Japanese in Korea. Franco-German relationships are continually awry because of the jagged edges of past prejudices; the Balkan states are ever "in hot water" because of old-time, simmering hatreds.

The ignorant imagine conflicting tendencies wherever liberal meets conservative. The spokes on the opposite sides of a wheel might consider

themselves enemies because they are continually going in opposite directions, but the hub notes a forward movement. The fist often strikes where the open eye sees no enemy. To one who never looks up, imagined wrongs hide the horizon.

Egotism and Pugnacity. The urge for recognition and power prompts some leaders to bring on group conflict. Napoleon probably did not love France so much as he loved himself. Rome, Carthage, Athens, Alexandria fell into aggressive warfare whenever egotistic leaders were in the saddle. Whenever "frenzied finance," "stubborn labor," "shrewd politics," or "proselyting religion" seeks self-glory, conflict looms ahead.

A person's urge to achieve often brings him into conflict with other ambitious persons. If his opportunities are cut off by their aggressiveness he grows resentful. When "the woods are full" of competitors or foes, a person naturally fights or flees. Defense easily becomes aggression, for the line between is often vague and dependent on attitudes. How long shall one wait before acting—until the opponent is at the door and at an advantage, when he is in the distance and can be ambushed, or before he has even started? Defense thus may reach out into offensive movements. The most defensive person may have offensive posts set out the farthest.

Since pugnacity is energy ready to strike, it is a common source of conflict. Once man had to depend for defense on the quick use of his fists, club, or spear. With the development of private property, organized defense became necessary. Peaceful tribal groups lost their freedom, were captured or enslaved, or were wiped out. Organized warfare became a necessary defense mechanism. The powerful became a law unto themselves and hence ruthless in conflict. The modern flood tide of this doctrine was reached in the achings of men such as Nietzsche and Bernhardt.

From necessary defense to aggressive offense is only a short step. The exercise of power arouses more power, and defense becomes offense. But since open offense has become unpopular in democratic eras, it has slung back under the cover whence it came, namely, justifiable defense. From this retreat, it strikes forth now and then in racial and national affairs, in religion and industry.

TYPES OF CONFLICTS

Racial Conflicts. One of the oldest and subtlest forms of human conflict is racial. It grows out of adverse sense impressions, race prejudice, and competition. Race prejudice is usually a non-scientific, prejudgment involving antagonism; it arises out of hearsay experiences with a few individuals; out of sneering remarks more than from solid and compre-

hensive evidence. It sometimes arises out of loss of personal, economic, or some other kind of status. It sometimes develops out of adverse sense impressions, when it may best be called race antipathy. It has its roots in ordinary preferences of one person for another, but race preference easily slips over into race prejudice.

The social psychology of race prejudice reveals several constituent elements. 1. An *elemental fear* of the *strange* may be considered first. This is probably the only inherited factor; the other elements are more largely environmental and due to interstimulation. The individual who would survive must regard the stranger with caution. In primitive days, the stranger was assumed to be an enemy until he proved himself otherwise. The stranger to-day without credentials at the cashier's window is helpless, and the stranger at the front door of a private residence is viewed askance.

2. The *strange* tribe is an enemy tribe until proved otherwise. Race preservation demands that each group maintain its own values and entity. Consequently, each race has built up a set of beliefs which stress its virtues and overlook its vices and which exaggerate the weaknesses of other races. Races attach "the idea of beauty to everything which characterizes their physical formation."

The Englishman, the Italian, the German, the African Negro, the Eskimo—each declares that his race is superior to all others, but how can each be correct? The African Negro believes that brown and black are the most beautiful colors, and pities the Caucasian because of his pale, sickly hue. After living for a few months among the black races of Africa, white Caucasians have admitted a sense of shame because of the pale skins of their race—so powerful has been the opposite influence. The Negress enhances her beauty by painting her face with charcoal while the Caucasian lady puts on a chalky white to increase her whiteness. The Negro pictures his gods as black and his devils as white. If there are thirty-five leading races in the world to-day, each fancying itself the best, then there must be thirty-four deluded races.

3. *Narrow-mindedness* leads to race prejudice. We must really know other races before we can evaluate our own correctly. Many leading ethnologists have concluded that all races are potentially equal, and that race differences are due largely to differences in physical and social environment. For example, some of the Mongolian peoples moved to Japan; other Mongolians migrated westward and became the progenitors of the Magyars, the ruling class in Hungary, where they are surrounded by a sea of Slavs. In the United States the Japanese and the Magyars

meet to-day as strangers with neither one of these two groups of Mongolian brethren recognizing the other. In coming from the opposite sides of the earth and in circling the globe, these two branches of one grand division of the human race have developed different languages, different culture backgrounds, somewhat different physiques, and consequently do not recognize one another as distant kinsmen.

False traditions and false education foster race prejudice. A careful study of races indicates that "all races are alike at their best and at their worst," that each is superior at some points and inferior at other points to other races, that some races have had better opportunities than others, and that averaging everything up, all races have much to be proud of and much to be ashamed of.

4. *Forced segregation* increases race prejudice. Separation breeds misunderstanding, false estimates, false stereotypes. In our congested urban districts the immigrant learns of the United States at its worst, and likewise the American gains false and unjust impressions of immigrants. In the coal mines and steel mills it often happens that the new immigrant first contacts American profanity and sees American life in its most unlovely aspects. These first unfavorable impressions remain vivid.

In the Far East, many Europeans hold themselves superior to the natives. In Yokohama on land donated to foreign representatives for their consulates a sign according to Melville E. Stone was put up: "No Japanese are permitted on these grounds," which calls to mind the arrogance of the notice in a small park on the "Bund" in Shanghai reported by E. A. Ross and others: "Dogs and natives are not allowed here."

Race preservation demands a degree of separation, yet race exclusiveness naturally generates prejudice. If there are provisions for interchange of ideas and ideals, for constructive contacts, for friendships to spring up prejudice also thrives. Prejudice develops within either segregation or social contacts.

5. *Differences in physical appearance* foster prejudice. We cannot judge the worth of a race by "the slant of the eye, the color of the skin, or the shape of the shin bone." These variations are superficial. We are still ignorant regarding real race distinctions, but act as though differences in appearances always connote basic disparities.

6. *Difference in cultures* multiply and magnify prejudices. If races have widely different cultures, they are prone to sneer at each other. Differences in cultures provide for misunderstandings to occur at every contact. Differences distract attention from likenesses, and prevent races from perceiving their common human nature.

7. *Adverse sense impressions* of sight, sound, smell, and touch turn into deep-seated antipathies. The sight of the heavy jaw of another race, the sound of a guttural voice, the body odor, the feel of kinky hair—any one of these are sufficient to arouse race antipathy. The sight of the beak-like nose or the sickly hue of a member of the white race, the sound of his high-pitched voice, another type of body odor, and the like, stimulates antipathy in the colored man. Sense impressions are hard to eradicate; they do not allow themselves to be rationalized away.

8. *Competition for status* engenders prejudice. The Chinese came to the United States at the urge of employers, but when their labor competed successfully with American labor, giving to the employers a "cheap labor supply," hatred of them arose. The Japanese were welcomed until they began to compete successfully, whereupon propaganda was launched against them. Filipino immigrants have more recently suffered a similar disillusionment. Many white persons take a generous attitude toward the Negro, but if the Negro takes positions away from these whites race hatred flares up.

The repeated loser to members of another race develops undying hatred. Race prejudice easily becomes one of "the most hateful and harmful" of human sentiments. It is arbitrary, vicious, and narrowing; it culminates in lynchings, pogroms, and wars. An able American scholar has indicted it as follows:

It has incited and excused cannibalism, warfare and slavery.

It has justified religious persecution and economic exploitation.

It has fostered tyranny, cruelty and the merciless waste of human life.

It has bred the spirit of caste; and it has done most to create the sweatshop and the slum.

It is the arch enemy of social peace throughout the world.

... It is a sinister factor in world politics.

Only through its removal shall we ever realize the vision of the dreamer—the brotherhood of man.¹

The "higher" races being smaller in numbers than the "lower" ones are in a predicament. If they keep the lower down, they are inconsistent for they profess democratic ideas. If they educate the lower, then the latter will outvote and dominate the former, but this is almost unthinkable to the former. If they do nothing, the lower races will grow restless, become unreasonable and revolutionary. In turn, the higher grow suppressive. In the Union of South Africa, for instance, six or more million

¹ G. E. Howard, "Social Psychology," syllabus (Univ. of Nebraska, 1910), p. 57; and in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XII: 6-7.

Bantus are becoming restless under the control of a million and a half whites. The race situation becomes increasingly critical.

Political Conflicts There are *three* major types of political conflicts: Those that occur within a nation, such as party conflicts; and those that take place between nations, such as diplomatic sparring, and military combat. 1. Political party conflicts occur in democratic countries, usually with one party striving to maintain itself in power and with the others striving to get into power. The system is exceedingly expensive. The parties not in power do not lend their support to the party in control, but hamper it and thus lessen the general efficiency. In election conflicts a great deal of false propaganda is issued, the public is perplexed by contradictory statements, and unwise promises are made in order to secure votes.

The evils of having only one political party are likely greater, for autocracy results. After all, if the attitudes of the people and their leaders are socialized rather than self-centered and built around special interests, the form of government becomes secondary. The problem, therefore, is that of building and maintaining socialized attitudes.

2. Diplomatic conflicts are exceedingly subtle. They are often hidden behind a play of words, verbal courtesies, and polite but veiled threats. Diplomats are often political appointees, ill-trained, unversed in international processes. They possess great power, for they may plunge nations into needless strife. Diplomatic conflicts are carried on by a series of notes or papers, which frequently are exchanged in secret. The national publics chiefly concerned are kept in the dark. To release diplomatic notes to the public prematurely is often to defeat their best purposes, but to keep them secret gives diplomats overwhelming power.

A most significant idea expressed by Woodrow Wilson was that the chief business of national diplomats is to organize the friendship of the world.² When the international friendship of the world, thin as it may be in places, is organized into a world community and an effective organization, then a recrudescence of war may be prevented. But how many diplomats as yet are at all prepared to engage intelligently in organizing the friendship of all peoples? In how many countries would the rank and file allow their diplomats to take an active part in such a far-flung program?

3. Military conflicts grow out of national pride and economic aggressiveness. As long as every group is taught that it is superior to all others, it will claim special privileges and feel insulted on slight provocation. It is no trick at all for national wrongs to be imagined or exaggerated, for nationalists to become angry at minor affronts, and for peoples to rush

² From address before the Chamber of Deputies in Rome, January 3, 1919.

at each other's throats. A 100 per cent nationalism plus a zero internationalism equals potential war, in much the same way that a 100 per cent loyalty to business plus a zero nationalism equals profiteering.

Military conflicts settle matters of state not on the basis of needs but by might. They are animal orgies to which human beings resort when their intelligences become deadlocked. If Sherman in 1864 said "War is hell," what would he say now? Military conflict is less and less justifiable, but advantages are still claimed for it.

The group which fights gains temporarily in unity. Dissident elements are brought together. Attacks from the outside drive competing insiders into a coalition. When France declared war in 1870, the German States came together into a federation. When Germans were striking at the heart of Great Britain, the Irish fought side by side with the despised English. National enemies are better unifying factors than the hope of a common prosperity.³

The ultimate results of war-made coalitions are of doubtful value. As soon as a war is over, the coöperating groups tend to fall apart. An overgrowth of nationalism creates disintegrating reactions. A weakening of the middle classes leads to new dissensions. The permanence of war-made alliances is often rudely shattered.

Military conflict makes both officers and privates autocratic. One day a big, handsome officer in a German regiment, wearing decorations of bravery, and receiving the personal commendations of the Kaiser, was approached by a little girl five or six years old with a letter in her hand which she wished to post in a box behind the tall officer. She stood on her tiptoes but could not reach the box. She looked longingly for aid, and finally, summoning all her courage, handed the letter to the officer. He took it mechanically, with one or two glances back and forth between it and her. His intellect was evidently less bright than his uniform. Presently the idea took shape in his brain that this slip of a girl had called on him for help. With an arrogant toss of his head and a contemptuous snap of his wrist, he threw the letter to the ground.⁴

Military combat necessitates autocratic organization. Witness how the United States organized in 1917 and 1918—through the draft law, the government operation of railroads, the Liberty Loan drives. From such experiences a nation may learn valuable lessons in organizing in peace times for constructive ends. While most nations retain some of the organizational lessons learned in war, they remain suspicious of the socialistic

³ J. S. Mackenzie, *Outlines of Social Philosophy* (Macmillan, 1918), p. 247.

⁴ Reported by Albion W. Small, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXIII: 167-168.

and monopolistic tendencies that war begets. Moreover, autocratic war ways tend to carry over into peace times for a decade or two.

It is said that preparation for military combat guarantees out-of-door life, the making of strong chest and leg muscles, the overcoming of a slouchy posture, and the like, on the part of young men who would otherwise remain cooped up in offices and bent over desks. But to state the claim indicates its weakness and a better substitute. It is claimed that military life develops patterns of obedience, a respect for authority, a hardening of personality fiber, but these results are chiefly formal, blind, and deadening. Better techniques are available in order to secure the same ends. The arguments that the soldier "gains in courage" are specious. "War does not produce courage but consumes it." The ends to which bravery is stimulated lessen sympathy and harden the heart. A Boy Scout régime by itself could develop courage "without thought of war."

It is argued that the soldier develops "an enlarged morality," that instead of working for himself he joins with others in support of a national program, that from self-service he is turned to self-sacrifice. The man of wealth accepts "a dollar a day" job, and the local backwoodsman or peasant leaves home to make "the world safe for democracy." In reply it has been said that war does not beget morality; it uses it up. Look at the egoism, greed, and want of pro-social spirit in warlike countries. Whether a nation comes through a long war victoriously or is defeated, it is morally exhausted.

While officers assume responsibility, privates are relieved of directive work and become automatons. It is their business to obey, but not to question or "to reason why." It has been said that the less that the private thinks the better soldier he will make. It is his duty "to do and die."

The gigantic cost of military combat in dollars and cents is small in comparison with the cost in human suffering or in its brutalizing effects. The returned soldiers who went "over the top" refrain from describing the scenes in which they participated. "War confronts human beings with situations in which they must act inhumanly."⁵ If you are going to kill systematically, it is necessary to *hate systematically*. After a war has continued for some time, hatred increases and ideals decline; any measures that will stave off defeat are likely to be advocated. War lying rapidly increases. War is a "brutal acknowledgment that nations have failed to live together harmoniously."⁶

⁵ G. F. Nicolai, *The Biology of War* (Century, 1918), p. 113.

⁶ George Elliott Howard, "The Social Puritan," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VI, No. 5: 1-7.

Military conflicts are followed by years of increased immorality, brutality, and violence. Patterns of brutality carry over from war into peace. Gun-play multiplies in the motion pictures, and "the film of the Dempsey-Carpentier prize-fight, one of the most brutal exhibitions in recent times, is exploited for weeks in theaters before the admiring eyes of boys."⁷ This post-war violence goes back to wartime practices. In referring to the World War, Clarence Darrow says:

The highest awards were offered for new and more efficient ways to kill. Every school was turned over to hate and preparation for war, and, of course, all the churches joined in the universal craze. God would not only forgive killing but reward those who were the most expert at the game. . . . The whole world talked of slaughter and devoted its energy to killing.⁸

Military conflict puts violence into the common mind. Life "loses something of its sanctity. Outrages of the most fiendish sort are reported so often that people become callous to them."⁹ War makes people excitable, mentally unstable, easily given to rash deeds. "The suppression of the normal life of man by military discipline results in an increased action of strong impulses."¹⁰ By military suppression, the ignorant are made reckless and the intellectual made radical. "War is a profound and rapid maker of mental attitudes and of complexes that are quick to develop and slow to pass away."¹¹ By playing on the feelings war gets results quickly, especially on the destructive side, but these once established, turn adamant.

National groups on the slightest provocation still glare at one another like wolves. They do not yet possess dependable patterns for settling disputes by discussion, but some are developing group heritages which have no place for bloody combat. Even such nations must be ready to defend themselves or they will be overrun by the more aggressive nations. The forecasts indicate that "the next war" will annihilate civilization. The discovery or invention of deadlier gases than were known during the World War, that have no odor or smoke, that are heavier than air, that can be dropped over entire cities by a fleet of electrically operated airplanes, that can annihilate men, women, and children—this fact alone is enough to startle the unthinking devotee of nationalism and militarism out of his smugness. "In the war-after-the-next," says E. A. Ross, "the two belligerents almost simultaneously will launch over the enemy terri-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸ *Crime* (Crowell, 1922), p. 214.

⁹ E. T. Devine, *Social Work* (Macmillan, 1922), p. 178.

¹⁰ J. M. Williams, *Principles of Social Psychology* (Knopf, 1922), p. 396.

¹¹ Clarence Darrow, *Crime* (Crowell, n.d.), p. 214.

tory a huge fleet of airplanes, dropping containers of poison gas. After having done a workmanlike job, each fleet will return home to find its people blotted out. The crews of the air fleets will be the sole survivors of the first offensive. Thereafter they will never complain of lack of elbow room in their own country."¹²

Military conflicts cannot be ended merely by denouncing them, or by declaring that "this is a war to end war." Measures are needed for building up friendship among the nations of the world and of constructing international machinery that will run harmoniously, justly, and constructively. A world community spirit¹³ is needed which will hold the same relation to national patriotism that patriotism now holds to family loyalty. A thorough revision of national group loyalties is essential; likewise, the substitution of socio-rational discussion for physical fighting.

The problem of outlawing military conflict becomes somewhat simpler when we remember that present-day war is largely a social malformation. Stupendous modern war organization is far removed from inherited tendencies to fight; it is largely artificial, stimulated by population growth and nationalism expansion.¹⁴ To undo war, therefore, it is necessary to undo racio-national competitions and excess national patriotisms.¹⁵ The tradition of making secret treaties must also be undone, and open, frank discussions, such as some that occurred at the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments in 1921, substituted therefor. Nothing less than a constructive world pattern of action can overrule military conflict.

The centering of attention on *the moral and social equivalents* of organized warfare is in line with progress, for by so doing it will be possible to provide for any virtues that war begets and yet escape the terrible cost. Physical education can be expanded to provide all the valuable training which military life begets. Courage may be fostered by making life less easy for those who are now idling in frivolous pleasure, and by making the game of life more worth while for those who are struggling forward against overwhelming odds. Socialized education will create a greater sense of social responsibility; a socialized religion will stimulate a greater coöperative spirit; a socialized nationalism will invoke a new world spirit.

¹² In the "Introduction" to *Non-Violent Coercion* (Century, 1923), by Clarence M. Case.

¹³ E. S. Bogardus, "The World as a Group Concept," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VII: 31-38.

¹⁴ Clarence M. Case, "Instinctive and Cultural Factors in Group Conflicts," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXVIII: 1-20.

¹⁵ H. A. Miller, "Patriotism and Internationalism," *Publications of the Amer. Sociological Society*, XVI: 135-44.

Religious Conflicts. The world has long been cursed with religious conflicts. Highly specialized religionists have been zealots. Their beliefs are the product of group egoism, of dogmatizing, of settling religious problems arbitrarily. Religious beliefs have often been saturated in feeling patterns. They easily fall into prejudices, listening to no challenge or question. "Thus saith the Lord" harbors no reasoning; everything is settled and must not be doubted. Progressive thinkers rebel at this viewpoint, and a conflict is on.

Religious conflicts have led to persecutions, inquisitions, wars, and the condemnation of numberless valuable souls to perdition. Bitter hatreds develop between religious competitors. A scientific viewpoint, a willingness to be reasonable, and the spirit of good will are the main antidotes for religious conflicts. Christianity, the religion of love, has produced notorious persecutions within its own ranks. Until its members adjust their behavior to the teachings of its Founder it cannot hope to become the religion of the world. As long as the charge of "hypocrite" can with justice be hurled at it by the "heathen" and the "pagan," it cannot expect to become universal.

Mohammedanism compromises and belittles itself when it becomes a religion of the sword. It cannot promote religious dervishes and expect world-wide acceptance. Other less aggressive religions degenerate into a dogmatism that throws them into potential conflict with all other religions. Still others succumb to the mores of the time and place; they secure acceptance at the price of respect; they avoid conflict but sacrifice their integrity.

Industrial Conflicts. Industrial conflicts arise out of greed. The urge to acquire power leads persons to build vast interlocking economic corporations that crush out the lives of employees. Economic power intoxicates and blindfolds. It makes its possessor frantic; it schemes for more power. With it goes social power, and even political and religious power. Its momentum can scarcely be challenged. Its representatives often fail to appreciate the attitudes of unfortunates, delude themselves into thinking themselves superior, and become indirect factors in revolutions.

The proletariat, not having had the advantages of education, travel, administrative experience, develop strong biases. They are quick to attack the evils of capitalism and to accept "a way out." As they develop strong leaders, divisions occur over means of securing release from "wage slavery," and particularly over the ideal economic state to be sought. The followers being untrained in scientific analyses follow here and there after any Moses who promises quick relief. Oppression is often so harsh that

the oppressed is willing to take up with almost any panacea if it is presented to him vigorously. Proletariat divisions defeat each other in conflicts with more calculating opponents. Marked differences in economic status produce the "classes" and lead to class wars; reduction of these differences and of extremes reduces conflicts.

TACTICS OF CONFLICT

Group conflict everywhere manifests certain similarities. These may be presented under the following heads:¹⁶ 1. A primary method is for the group to get out its full strength. In the World War, rapid strides were made toward enlisting everybody, man, woman, and child, somewhere in the fighting machinery. All were asked to do their bit, and then their all. An evaluation of services was made and individuals were shifted to positions of greatest fighting usefulness.

2. The group inspires its members to fight their best (or their worst) against the opponent. Slogans are invented; tales of horrible deeds by the "enemy" are spread and magnified. The conflict becomes a matter of tricking your opponent before he tricks you. 3. The group seeks the support of neutral groups, or at least tries to keep them from joining the opponents' forces. Diplomatic skill is used and desperate attempts are made to strengthen the home group by acquiring the support of allies.

4. On the offensive, propaganda is started to divide the opponents, and to break up the opponents' support. During the World War President Wilson delivered messages intended to divide Germany by winning popular support away from the autocratic rulers and generals. 5. All manner of means of deceiving the opposing group are devised. Before a football contest each team sends out "gloom" stories and hospital lists. Ambushes are manufactured. Morality is extended to include lying and deception. Each campaign manager is sure that his candidate will win by "100,000 votes."

6. The opposing group is intimidated. Terrible threats are hurled. "Big Berthas" have been a traditional means of sending shivers of fear through opponents. 7. Violence begets more violence. Lynchings, night riding, rioting, religious persecution are replied to in kind. Respect for law is undermined by secret and vicious practices. These factors may be summarized under two headings: building up home group morale and shattering "enemy" group morale.

¹⁶ Suggested to the writer by E. A. Ross.

OVERCOMING CONFLICTS

In terms of centuries, conflicts operate on an ascending scale of war, competition, discussion, and give way here and there to coöperation, alliance, and mutual aid. Arising out of social life and a universal culture scheme,¹⁷ they represent stages from brutal ruthlessness to mutual coöperation. In other words conflicts may tend downward or upward. At the lowest they are struggles to deceive most, to see who can exploit most, who can destroy most; at their best, they are contests to see who can serve his fellow men most.

At a given time and place conflicts may grow increasingly destructive. But in the long run of the centuries individual conflicts may wear themselves out and new ones take place on a higher plane. Combative impulses may run riot or they may be turned to socialized ends. They may become organized into attitudes of either low or high estate. To outlaw war is not enough. S. J. Holmes has sharply pointed out how at the moment that human attention is centered on outlawing, other forms of conflict, vicious and destructive, are getting in their deadly work.

The Anglo-Saxon looks forward, not without reason, to the days when wars will cease; but without war, he is involuntarily exterminating the Maori, the Australian, and the Red Indian, and he has within his borders the emancipated but ostracized Negro, the English Poor Law, and the Social Question; he may beat his swords into plowshares but in his hands the implements of industry prove even more effective and deadly weapons than the swords.¹⁸

Parallel to conflicts, coöperative movements spring up. Among both animals and primitive people small groups live harmoniously together, but usually on an automatic basis. Coöperation develops simultaneously with conflict, and the group spirit thrives. Within groups persons learn to respect differences of opinion and to build codes for settling disputes. Observance of these codes prevents conflicts. The pistol duel is a sophisticated survival of personal conflicts in those groups which have established legal procedures.

Courts of law have developed and prevented many conflicts. It is only the sportive or criminal citizen who carries a revolver, or the immigrant governed by traditions who conceals a dagger. Civilized persons have refined the processes of living together peacefully and harmoniously; they are learning to settle their conflicts constructively, and to carry on not mutually destructive but mutually constructive conflicts.

¹⁷ According to Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (Crowell, 1923), Ch. V.

¹⁸ *Studies in Evolution and Eugenics* (Harcourt, Brace, 1923), p. 83.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Destructive types of interstimulation are group conflicts, such as racial, political, military, industrial, and religious combats.
2. Competition for material possessions and for status are leading origins of group conflicts.
3. Prejudice and ignorance are fertile breeding grounds of conflicts.
4. Egotism and pugnacity drive people into wholesale conflicts.
5. Racial conflicts are promoted by a fear of the strange, narrow-mindedness, false traditions, forced segregation, differences in physical appearance, economic competition, differences in cultures.
6. Political conflicts occur within a nation as party strife; between nations diplomatically and by military means.
7. Military conflicts grow out of excess national patriotism and economic aggressiveness.
8. Military conflicts promote autocratic attitudes.
9. Military conflicts are followed by years of social disorganization.
10. Civil and criminal codes have developed substitutes for personal combats, but national groups have not yet devised efficient substitutes for national combats.
11. Religious conflicts spring from misguided zealotism, narrow intolerance, and sentimentally supported dogmas.
12. Industrial conflicts arise from the social distance between employer and employee, from economic oppression, and from the urge to acquire private property.
13. The tactics of conflict include propaganda, censorship, intimidation.
14. In the long run conflicts move up the scale of war, competitive effort, discussion, coöperation, alliance, mutual aid.

PROBLEMS

1. How are group conflicts different from personal conflicts?
2. Is competition always a cause of group conflict?
3. Is prejudice the same as potential conflict?
4. Compare racial conflicts within a nation with a war between nations.
5. Will there continue to be racial conflicts as long as peoples are different in color?
6. Would the development of one world culture to take the place of the many racial cultures do away with race conflicts?
7. How is patriotism often a cause of war?
8. Why have courts of law developed?
9. Explain the statement that modern warfare is artificial rather than natural.
10. Why is war sometimes extolled as a social good?
11. Why are national groups slow in developing a sense of international or world welfare responsibility?
12. Why do rational people resort to war rather than use discussion in order to settle international disagreements?
13. Why has international law lagged behind civil and criminal law within the nation?
14. Is national patriotism a scientific guide to national action under all circumstances?

15. Why do battles always take place between *two* armies rather than between four or five, each fighting all the others?
16. Is the man who has invented a deadly instrument of war a social benefactor?
17. Why has war not been outlawed before now?
18. If religion is highly spiritual why are there so many religious conflicts, even among Christians?
19. What methods peculiar to themselves do religious groups use against each other?
20. What is the most important thing to do in order to decrease industrial conflicts?
21. What are the best values in group conflicts?

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CHAPTER XXXI

GROUP LOYALTIES

CONFLICTS are made possible by loyalties. In uniting, loyalty also divides. In its essence loyalty is love. A person can find out what his loyalties are by asking himself the question: What am I willing to sacrifice for?

Loyalty is engendered by *benefits received*. An immigrant is loyal to his homeland because it represents to him social values, sacred memories, loved ones. He acquires loyalties in a new country if it treats him well in wages, in a home, in promotion, in protection, in friendships. If a person is benefited by something, he develops a loyalty to that thing. If that something be inanimate, he personifies, holds communion with it, and imagines response.

Group loyalty is natural, for persons are group-made as well as self-made. It is chiefly in the hey-day of childhood that group loyalties become dramatic. Loyalties to parents and playmates (including brothers and sisters) arise first, and become the primary sources of attitudes and ideals. Some loyalties are experienced indirectly, such as those to parents, without appreciating them fully until years have passed or perhaps never. They are taken for granted—thoughtlessly so. But when crises come, accident or illness, one becomes aware of his loyalties. When something is in danger, one's loyalty is tested.

Group loyalty is often known as patriotism. "An abiding affection for the fatherland and for the principles of liberty, of opportunity and of fraternity which the group may have worked out represent the highest social appraisals,"¹ and hence the highest group loyalties. By considering patriotism we have a key to the nature of group loyalty, ranging all the way from family loyalty, "gang" loyalty, college loyalty, business loyalty, to national and perhaps world loyalty.

NATURE OF PATRIOTISM

Patriotism is loyalty to *patria*. It is the response excited by an attack upon one's home group. It is a sentiment compounded of blind feelings

¹ F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (Macmillan, 1896), pp. 117ff.

and rational love. It is tempered by home group ties and blessings. It is as old as human affection.

Patriotism originally was love of family, of the *pater*, or the patriarchal head of the family who was the symbol for the whole clan. At one time in its evolution patriotism was synonymous with patriarchalism and familialism, with love of home and clan. In the days of Abraham, it was loyalty to Abraham and his household. Among mountaineers to-day patriotism is clan loyalty. In the hey-day of tribal society, patriotism was loyalty to the tribe; it was tribalism. Among the Iroquois, patriotism was loyalty to the Confederacy. Among the Bantus, patriotism is Bantu-loyalty.

With the rise of the civil state, patriotism became nationalism, and to-day in Western civilization patriotism is synonymous with loyalty to nation. It is often hyper-nationalism. It is a sentiment which manifests a deep attachment to geographic territory, national symbols, heroes, and traditions. The Psalmist illustrated the force of patriotism when he declared:

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion.

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.²

Patriotism is loyalty to *patria*—by birth or adoption. A person may identify his life with his country. He becomes an integral part of the whole in times of national danger. In peace times patriotism arouses his social nature and satisfies his urge for security; in war times, it arouses his pugnacious nature and satisfies his urge for adventure and danger. It enables him to stretch and enlarge his personality.

Under national patriotism, familialism continues. He who is not loyal to his family may not know the meaning of larger loyalties. If one is not true to a small social unit, how can he be really faithful to a large collectivity? The meaning of large values is found in smaller, more comprehensible ones. National loyalty, on the other hand, that has no room for family loyalties or any of the other family group loyalties is unworthy.

Under nationalism, a modified tribalism has its place. Tribalism in the form of loyalty to local community, city, province or state is necessary to the building of a large nation-loyalty, otherwise there would be too great a hiatus between the national structure and the small family units. The national roof must be sustained by large, permanent pillars as well as by countless small supports. Familialism and communityism are subordinate but vital to nationalism.

² Psalm 137.

The most powerful and overwhelming group loyalty that has yet developed arises in connection with national defense. It is highly emotional, charged with electrical feelings; it is crowd-minded, emotionally poised. It listens to few arguments and jails dissenters.

Group loyalty easily becomes group egocentrism. The emphasis is easily placed on *my* fraternity, *my* church, *my* business. The group often acts egotistically, often parades itself, "high hats" other groups, for example, a business house that crushes a worthy but weak competitor, or a religious denomination that deigns no compromise with other religious sects of merit. Group egotism is fatal to the growth of broad sympathies and coöperation. Its membership is self-centered. It is an enemy of genuine democracy.

TYPES OF PATRIOTISM

The members of a nation-group may be classified under one or more types of national loyalty. Brands and grades of patriotism are innumerable, and a person may represent several, depending upon his sense of values. Types of patriotism are types of integrated attitudes toward the nation-group.

1. *Pugnacious patriotism* is an over-developed combativeness. There are persons who are characteristically on the lookout for trouble. As some are fussy about their personal dignity, and imagine themselves slighted under almost any circumstances, so there are those who are provincial in imagining or in magnifyng national provocations. Many persons are willing to rush their country into war upon slight excuse. If a citizen is abroad and has been insulted or killed, regardless of his guilt, these pugnacious persons would threaten war unless apologies are made at once. Jingoists abound. Combative patriotism does not wait for an investigation. It works continuously for an aggressive foreign policy; it is impatient with negotiation; it is prejudiced and unreasoning. It labels all as traitors who do not yelp at its behest.

2. *Professional patriotism* characterizes the military and naval classes. It is valuable in a society where force predominates. It tends toward arrogance, hard-heartedness, and exaggerated desires for recognition. The promotion of ambition is illustrated in the extreme case of the officer who some years ago expressed a hope that the United States would declare war upon Panama, after Panama had committed a slight breach of courtesy. When asked for his reasons, he candidly replied: "Because my chances for promotion would be greatly increased."

3. *Profiteering patriotism* raises its blasé features in spite of the need for war sacrifices. After the entry of the United States into the World War, the cry was raised, "Business as usual." But everyone knew that if the war was to be won business could not go on as usual. Before the United States declared war, the dividends of certain companies which were manufacturing war materials rose rapidly, and after the war declaration by the United States, the war profits of these firms created millionaires. One American openly and shamelessly boasted: "This war has surely been a fine thing for me. If it lasts two years, I will have made enough money to live in leisure the rest of my life." While 70,000 American soldiers were giving up their lives during the war it is estimated that 18,000 American millionaires were made.

Another profiteering patriot sold to the government shoddy clothing for the soldiers and sailors. Still another set up wooden images of the Kaiser, and playing upon the war feelings of the passers-by, invited them to "Swat the Kaiser"—for ten cents a throw. A theater owner subscribed heavily to the war funds and then advertised that fact widely. His theater drew unusually large crowds of people, who felt that they should patronize such an unusually generous proprietor and "patriot." The profiteer hoists the flag, but locks up coal in his mines while women and children suffer from the cold. He buys up foodstuffs and holds them while prices rise and people starve.

4. *Faddish patriotism* gives benefit "teas" in war time, despite the fact that such affairs provide an unnecessary fourth meal. A young woman who wore a service star was found to have no nearer relative in the World War than a cousin whom she had never seen. She easily justified to herself this action on the grounds that "all the other girls were wearing service stars." In certain cases the carrying of flags upon the front of automobiles is faddish patriotism. Shortly after the United States declared war in 1917, as high as forty per cent of the automobiles in some communities carried flags, but six months later the proportion fell to less than five per cent. In the meantime, however, the real patriotism of the people had greatly increased.

5. Patriotism is sometimes espoused for its *adventuresome* opportunities. "Join the Navy and see the world," is an adventuresome slogan. In every war some young men volunteer, stating, as one does, that they are moved strongly by the desire to get away from home, to go abroad, to see "the sights." They are daring, and hence adventuresome patriotism appeals. They may have lived a humdrum life and want relief.

6. *Conspicuous patriotism* exhausts itself in applauding the flag or in boastful oratory, but whines when asked to observe meatless or breadless days quietly at home. It waves the flag, but secretly promotes profiteering and self-indulgences. It is generally hypocritical; it evaporates in patriotic steam. The conspicuous patriot loudly abuses others for not going to war—even though he hides behind his age or inabilities and stays at home.

7. *Peace-at-any-price patriotism* is represented by a few who feel that their valiant stand is necessary in order to get the world to see the folly of brutal killing. They are long-term patriots, taking a stand for the ages. As practical citizens of the moment, however, they are out of tune, mistaken, and sometimes unreasonable. Their courage is offset by the immediate dangers of attack and destruction. It is necessary in times of group crisis to be willing to fight to save those social values which the group through the processes of time has acquired. As long as powerful national wolves are prowling, it is folly to believe in peace at any price. Wolves make no bones of eating peaceful lambs; they offer no apologies but rather gloat over their easy victims. Peace-at-any-price persons are to be admired because of their willingness to die for principles, and as such often set the world thinking on higher levels. They frequently possess those final moral qualities which cannot be found in the loyal but truculent chauvinists.

8. Then there is the *peace-principle patriotism*, or the patriotism of those who are for peace and against war, who oppose militarism vigorously, who believe that in times of peace a country should prepare for more peace, who urge the outlawry of war. However, in times of national crisis they swing over to a war program. Some call themselves pacifists in the sense of believing in peace rather than in war; most people are perhaps pacifists in this sense. But in time of war, any use of the term pacifist is anathema.

9. *Provincial patriotism* sees the interests of the country in terms of one section of a country. It measures long distances with the yard-stick of its own provincial area. It opposed the Louisiana Purchase and the acquisition of the Philippines. It would settle the Japanese immigration problem in the United States, irrespective of international concern. It would prevent the United States from assuming its full share of responsibility in world affairs. To-day, as in the time of Epaminondas, there are too many provincial patriots.

10. *Chauvinistic patriotism* is boastful loyalty; it is dominated by watchwords and shibboleths. It wildly shouts, "My country, right or wrong," when its country may be already in the whirlpools of greed and

injustice. It forgets that the slogan, "My country, right or wrong," made Germany a menace to the world. It does not possess the courage to face national evils frankly and to assist constructively in righting maladjustments.

11. *Duplex patriotism* is double loyalty, or loyalty to two nations. Immigrants from many countries often find it difficult to give up their loyalty to the homeland. The loyalty of an English or German immigrant to his native land persists for years. His problem of giving up his loyalty and of swearing away his allegiance to the flag that once he learned to love is one of the hardest problems he can face. He probably cannot give up wholly the homeland loyalty, especially if his childhood days were happy, if loved ones still live there, or if beloved parents be buried there. When a man takes a wife he does not give up his loyalty to his mother, and need not. When an immigrant adopts a new country, need he give up his loyalty to the homeland? Sacred memories cannot be foresworn by anyone who remains true to the highest principles of personality.

Duplex patriotism is often dubbed hyphenism. The chauvinist makes life unpleasant for the hyphenist. Hyphenism easily produces spies. It may lead to treason, which is owing loyalty to one group, while surreptitiously supporting an opposing group. The false pretense of a loyalty makes treason despicable. A modified treason is exhibited by the profiteer, by the revolutionary propagandist in a democracy, and by anyone who professes pro-social attitudes but who violates laws and winks at exploiters.

11. *Rational patriotism* believes that there must be nation-groups as necessary intermediary structures between the family and community on one hand, and the world order on the other. One comes to love his native land, even though its faults may be many. Wherever one finds good food, healthful shelter, and kindly ministrations, he feels patriotic—toward those at hand, the nation, and mankind.

Rational patriotism is national love divorced from all narrow desires. It urges that the nation group play a wholesome world-centered rôle. It is expressed not simply in exciting war times, but in the monotonous days of peace. While rational patriotism functions in both peace and war, it is far more difficult to maintain in peace than in war. In the routine, work-a-day world, private interests press forward and command attention. As a result, a person forgets to go to the polls, neglects to study the merits of candidates, and fails to keep informed on public questions.

12. *Vicarious patriotism* is a high order of loyalty.³ It gives all for

³ This list of patriotism types is representative rather than complete. There is no special merit in the number "12."

the sake of others. Super-patriots include the Joan of Arcs and the Nathan Hales, the heroes of Zeebrugge and the Argonne, the unknown, brave mothers and fathers who have given up sons and daughters anywhere in a helpful cause.

WORLD LOYALTIES

Besides loyalty to family, to community, to nation-state, the trend of social evolution is producing another type of group loyalty—world-wide loyalty. The world is on the verge of forming an international consciousness and a sense of planetary values. Woodrow Wilson's classic pleas for world-wide democracy and for the organization of the friendship of the world are forerunners of a new world society. Labor has thought in world terms; the social democrat, the philosopher, the religious leader have also planned in world terms. A variety of procedures has resulted.

1. *Industrial internationalism* has shown a rugged determinism. It holds that the industrial classes throughout the nations should organize in a world order and renounce the existing national governments as tools of capitalism. Industrial internationalism is an outgrowth of Marxian socialism and is closely allied to communism. It is doubtful, however, whether any stable international order can be built on class consciousness alone. Neither does a dictatorship of any kind sound well as a basis for world progress. To the extent that materialism dominates, it alone is sufficient to sink industrial internationalism.

2. *Democratic internationalism* is scientific internationalism. Since industrial internationalism has announced pronounced measures, it has been mistaken for all internationalism, and has hampered a fair hearing for a democratic world order. The latter builds on democratic attitudes, persons, families, communities, nations. It moves step by step from one democratic level to the next. Ordinarily family loyalties fit into a democratic, even into an industrially democratic internationalism. A person who is rationally loyal to his nation will be no less a patriot by catching a vision of the larger internationalism.

Democratic internationalism would dignify nationalism and make it a nobler sentiment. It would end destructive economic conflict between nations for the same reason that such conflict was ended between the American colonies. It would end such conflict between classes, as it has been ended in organized units within classes.⁴ It would eventually raze military and naval barriers between nations for the reasons that they have

⁴ Other phases of this type of international patriotism are presented by C. E. Fayle, *The New Patriotism* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914), Ch. VI.

not been needed between Canada and the United States. It recognizes differences between nations, and the need for organizing these differences into a larger whole. It urges the slogan of "Come, let us reason together."

Democratic internationalism furthers an enlargement of communication, world-wide culture similarities, and planetary good will. Through educational means it would break down all unnecessary barriers and differences between peoples, and hold up the mirror of world understanding in such a way that they could see their likenesses, mutual problems, common enemies.

3. *Philosophic universalism* is a still more comprehensive type of group loyalty. Philosophy has often projected a loyalty not only to the world of phenomena but to the universe. It divides, however, into a personalistic world view and a materialistic world scheme. The former, however, has more warmth and the greater optimism. The latter dissipates its energies in impersonalism, pessimism, and disorganization. The former grows with personality and stimulates a more human order of world living.

4. *Religious universalism* projects a comprehensive group loyalty. Again, it is the personal types of world religion which are most integrative. The impersonal expressions fail to unite and stimulate.

Christianity, as a leading personal religion, has dared to project a loyalty which includes not only the present world group, but also that unnumbered host who have run well and finished this earthly course, in fact, a vast society of which the living is but a small portion. Christianity has been so radical that unto familialism, tribalism, nationalism, internationalism, it has added universalism in the sense of a "Kingdom of God," infinite in size, without beginning and without end, and composed of an endless variety of personalities who have developed through life's vicissitudes, who are controlled by a perfected love, who are expected to serve one another and others, whose personalities are struggles toward the standards of a Perfect Personality, imminent in all and transcendent over all.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Group loyalty is the love for one's group that is engendered by a recognition of benefits received.

2. Patriotism is a common expression of group loyalty.

3. Patriotism originated in loyalty to patriarchal groups; it has run through various stages, such as tribalism, monarchism, and is now most commonly expressed as nationalism.

4. The types of patriotism run a wide gamut through pugnacious, professional, profiteering, faddish, conspicuous, peace-at-any-price, peace-principle, provincial, duplex, rational, and super-national patriotism.

5. World patriotism is found in industrial internationalism, democratic internationalism, philosophic universalism, and religious universalism.

6. The many group loyalties of a person often seem contradictory but may bear a logical relationship to each other.

7. Group loyalties may exist in a series of concentric circles about a person.

PROBLEMS

1. What is loyalty?
2. What is the most common source of loyalty?
3. How can loyalty best be engendered in the non-loyal?
4. How can loyalty be developed in the disloyal?
5. To how many definitely organized groups do you feel loyal? In what order?
6. What is your definition of loyalty?
7. Name a type of patriotism that is not discussed in this chapter.
8. Explain: "A great deal of so-called patriotism is but the crowd emotion of the nation."
9. What has been the evolutionary history of patriotism?
10. What is the relation of nation-group loyalty to family-group loyalty?
11. Contrast pugnacious and professional patriotism.
12. Contrast faddish and conspicuous patriotism.
13. What makes profiteering patriotism possible?
14. Why are some people pacifists?
15. Contrast peace-at-any-price pacifists and the peace-principle pacifists.
16. Contrast provincial and chauvinistic patriotism.
17. Can a good patriot be a bad citizen?
18. How do you rate the patriotism in the sentiment: "My country, right or wrong."
19. What could Veblen have meant when he said that "patriotism is useful for breaking the peace not for keeping it."
20. What is "patrioteering"?
21. When is it easiest to be patriotic?
22. Rate the various types of patriotism mentioned in this chapter in order of quality of loyalty.
23. What is there about patriotism that makes it despicable?
24. What is the relation of nationalism to internationalism?
25. Is it practicable to be a world patriot at the present time?
26. Which is the better basis for religious loyalty, agreement in belief or agreement in ideal?
27. What is the best basis for any kind of loyalty?

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CHAPTER XXXII

GROUP MORALE

MORALE is the tone of group life. Although it is elusive, it is very real and daily taken into account everywhere. Personal morale is referred to when one person says to another, "How do you do, this morning?" "What 'condition' is to the athlete's body, morale is to the mind."¹ The person who is described as working "wholeheartedly," or "halfheartedly," is being analyzed in terms of morale. "How ready are you to act?" or sometimes, "How ready are you to wait?" are questions that probe morale. "How much fight is there in you?" or "How many times can you come back?" are inquiries that examine the heart of morale. Personal morale is a shifting organic tone depending on the interaction between organic nature and social stimuli.

Group morale is more than the adding together of personal morales. It contains in addition a new tension, a heightened determination, and a special vigor. It is a product of the efficient interaction of the members. It is produced by the working together of stirred-up and dynamic individuals. "The team is on its toes" or "The team clicked together," are statements indicating morale. "The whole nation is buoyed up," or "There is a feeling of prosperity in the air," likewise denotes group morale.

NATURE OF MORALE

1. Morale comes to the surface in *crises*. During the World War the attention given to morale by the various nations grew rapidly, as the war continued. Von Hindenburg was credited with the statement, "That side will lose whose nerve cracks first," but he did not analyze what would cause a nation's "nerve" or morale to crack. The French rallying cry, "They shall not pass" is morale's immortal slogan. "Morale will win the war," became a universal slogan. Of the five essentials in war, namely, men, food, ammunition, ships, and morale, common agreement rates the fifth as first in importance. All the other factors contribute to morale, and yet all might be present with morale absent.

¹ W. E. Hocking, "Human Nature and its Remaking," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXII: 744.

Orders to go "over the top" are severe tests of morale. When the choice before a person is probable death or loyalty to the group, a deciding factor is "How loyal are the others going to be to the group?" Morale cannot be separated from group loyalty. If this loyalty has been worked up to a high pitch, then morale will know no limits.

Morale is "mass courage." Its development is a problem in creating courageous attitudes, of putting individuals into a psychic battery that will "charge" them. The famous "goose step" produced "an excessive mechanical rigidity," a participation in mass movement, a strong susceptibility to "orders" and "direct suggestion," inordinate feeling controls.² A regiment of goose steppers resembles a gigantic animal controlled electrically and possessed of tremendous energy. At no point does a group become more like a machine than in the goose step.

A measure of battle morale is the loss a body of soldiers will tolerate before fleeing. Soldiers who will hold on until a third of their number are dead or wounded rank high in morale. In the statement that a Japanese company will stand until the last soldier has fallen the highest level of morale is indicated. The complete identification of the individual members with their group spells a maximum morale.

2. *National morale* may be measured in terms of patriotism. In another volume³ the writer has called attention to a Greek immigrant who, in commenting on the difficulty of generating patriotism in the United States referred to his countrymen as *natural* patriots and to Americans as *drummed up* patriots. "We are patriots all the time," he said, "but you are obliged to have four-minute men to generate patriotism in you. If one of them doesn't speak well, you leave, forgetting to show respect to the worthy cause that is being presented."

In the United States, for example, there have been so many advantages into which the natives have been born and reared that they are rarely appreciative. Their national morale is much less than the advantages would make natural. The Greek has had the sword of Turkey over his head for so many centuries that his patriotism functions continually. The Mexican immigrant is sometimes said to be more loyal to Mexico than the citizens of the United States are to their country, but if so this may be due to the fact that the Mexican has been keyed to a high pitch so often because of the revolutionary dangers that have threatened his country. In the United States, national morale is hampered by excess individualism and speculation.

² Harold Goddard, *Morale* (Doran, 1918), p. 32.

³ *Essentials of Americanization* (J. R. Miller Press, 1923), p. 308.

3. *Religious enthusiasm* is another index of morale.⁴ Emotional development, an unwavering faith, an undying belief in things eternal are basic. It may show itself in a crowd emotion or in a Quaker-like quietism. It ranges from the spectacular to the serious, from the ephemeral to the persistent, but is always marked by a deep sincerity. It has been the writer's opportunity to spend a Sunday visiting different types of religious services—from seven in the morning until nine in the evening—from Mexican, Russian, Japanese, to American—from Buddhist, Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, Protestant, to divine healing—and in practically all cases all the observers have agreed upon the presence of high morale characterized by a deep sincerity despite the different techniques that were used.

4. In the *élan* of a barn raising of the olden days is found a *neighborhood morale*. This is an elemental phase of "the morale of communal labor."⁵ From miles around interested neighbors came and donated a day's services to one of their number. The heavy timbers which constitute the main structure of a barn had been arranged on the ground beforehand. With all the neighbors lifting together at a given signal, the timbers were put in place, one by one. Neighborhood morale was concentrated in "Heave together," which thrilled all who participated. There was a free luncheon, a great deal of visiting and hilarity, a general good time; the occasion was a memorable one, talked about for years afterward. A strong communal spirit was generated.

If neighborhood morale was low, then it was hard to get the neighbors together, but if it was high, then nothing could keep the neighbors away, provided they were invited. They would come from many miles away; those not invited would wish they "were dead." This neighborhood morale was built up in part by a free exchange of labor, of benefits received, of assistance rendered. A democracy of economic and social status is necessary; no one shall put on "airs." If one neighbor did make an attempt at "showing off," he immediately became the butt of penetrating jokes; jealousies arose, and neighborhood morale went down.

5. *College morale* is another interesting social phenomenon. A "rally" is an organized attempt to develop college spirit or morale. Behind the rally are attitudes which will make it "a howling success" or cause it to fall flat. Effervescence and noise are often mistaken for deep-tonal currents. Successful athletic teams, especially football teams, are coming to be

⁴For a fuller discussion of religious morale, see G. Stanley Hall, *Morale* (Appleton, 1920), Ch. XX.

⁵Harold Goddard, *Morale* (Doran, 1918), p. 55.

the dynamic points of college morale. Intellectual achievements, debates, and the like are unfortunately slipping as morale generators.

College spirit is rated very high when it gives a hundred per cent support to a losing athletic team. It sometimes arises out of alma mater worship on the part of the grandsons and great-grandsons of distinguished alumni. Family loyalties often are tied up with college loyalty; it is almost unthinkable for the son of a "Harvard grad" to become an enthusiastic Yale supporter. A traditional faith in "the old school" is often ingrained from childhood.

MAINTENANCE OF MORALE

The creation of morale is not so difficult as its *maintenance*. Morale is all the time slipping back. Being largely group feeling it is quickly stirred up, but likewise easily dissipated. Each new effort at maintenance of morale is in part a creation of new morale. The methods of morale maintenance and rejuvenation are many.

1. Music is perhaps the most frequent support of morale. Martial music keeps up the marching of tired feet. Religious music is maintained as long as converts are likely to come forward. "Just as I am without one plea," is sung over and over again as a heart stimulus. Music may hold an auditorium steady when fire is a threat. The band strikes up when the football team is downhearted.

2. The use of yells and bombastic songs helps to maintain morale. Athletic bleachers ring with cheers for sagging teams. Uproarious yells for dying gladiators in all types of arenas keep the remaining performers at their tasks. Many an exhausted runner has breasted the tape ahead of competitors because of the shouting from the bleachers and sidelines.

3. In crises military leaders try to sidetrack the minds of the soldiers from the worst dangers. Although the soldiers are told enough of the immediate risk to prevent them from being stampeded by panic, their attention is switched to normal matters. Often appeals are made to comic imagination.⁶ Paid entertainers are imported in order to bring soldiers back to normalcy, to prevent them from worrying their strength away, and from making themselves unfit. Football coaches whisk whole teams away to a country club or other secluded spot before a big game and keep them from getting overtense and shaky.

4. The elimination of those who are likely to start panics, who show the "white feather," who are "yellow," who are "born knockers," is essential to morale. One shrill cry of "fire" by a coward can set a multitude

⁶ G. Stanley Hall, *Morale* (Appleton, 1920), Ch. IV.

into flight; one satirical word, laugh, or look can pierce morale. It is a wise leader who can forestall simple, unintentional thrusts at morale. Like a chain, morale often is no stronger than the faith of the weakest member.

5. Censorship is used to protect morale. Every group holds certain things too sacred to be criticized. Certain personages have become heroes and will always be spoken of respectfully. Individuals as children are taught certain group symbols or collective representations. Histories and other textbooks are prepared with special care; group ideals are advertised and group weaknesses are glided over skilfully. Group defeats are softened and condensed.

In times of crisis censorship lines are drawn taut. When capitalism fears for its life, anything that smacks of communism is taboo. When the nation is in danger from outside attack, unquestioned obedience even to the stupid dictates of incompetent officials is insisted upon in order to maintain the general morale and to withhold possible encouragement to enemies. But the morale of the defeated cannot last forever.

6. A peculiar form of maintaining army morale when the dangers increase is that of putting private soldiers in relays on the "burial squad." In this way they develop a callousness to the dangers of battle and the thought of death. Jokes about death are spread in order to prepare individuals for the worst. "Hard-boiled" attitudes may be deliberately fostered.

7. Morale is often developed by a studied appeal to the spirit of soldiership, whether persons are working or fighting. They are asked to be good soldiers, to obey steadily, to endure until the end, to fight a good fight. Religion has made special use of this appeal. Capital often asks labor to be patient; pseudo-patriots ask citizens to do their duty, to support the ticket.

8. Morale may be created by presenting facts and by encouraging people to reason things out.⁷ Woodrow Wilson relied on giving intellectual reasons, but his constituents for the most part were not impressed. Morale may be built by visualizing for the group the essential social values. By combining facts with visualization of human values, an effective procedure for creating morale is at hand. People, however, are not yet trained much beyond the emotional methods of maintaining morale.

COLLAPSE OF MORALE

When morale collapses, its nature is uniquely revealed. When sick, a person "gives up" and goes to bed. He cancels his engagements and, if

⁷ Harold Goddard, *Morale* (Doran, 1918), pp. 87ff; G. Stanley Hall, *Morale* (Appleton, 1920), Ch. VII.

very ill, he drops his work. He "loses interest" and, as disease overcomes him, his most cherished aims fade away. Morale, thus, is buoyed up by physical health. In this way, likewise, groups are maintained in part by the sheer strength and energy of their members. A group composed of physical weaklings will be handicapped in developing morale. What is bad for the health tone of persons is evidently not good for the morale of the social group.

Defeat after defeat wears away the morale of a person. He takes up a task the first time with zest. The first defeat may spur him on, and focalize his mental energies. After several defeats he grows more reflective; he slows up; he examines his desire for achievement, changes his tactics, or gives up altogether. Morale, thus, is often a more or less blind force. Reason is subordinated to desire. Morale likewise impels a group to rush forward without full diagnosis and prognosis.

In the spring of 1917 the Czarist morale broke; in the fall of 1917 the Kerensky morale snapped; a year later the German morale failed. Within eighteen months these three national morales gave way, each spectacularly but differently. In Russia the Czarist adherents had been killed in battle and constitutionalists and their friends had gradually come into military control, who without ado arrested the old régime and took charge.⁸ The morale of the Czarist government failed when its military power failed. Morale had been resting on force, physical force, military force. It was not a sound morale but a fear inspired by bayonets and prestige.

The Kerensky morale was different; genuine but weak. It was sound but failed because it required an intelligent support that was lacking among a people 60 or 70 per cent illiterate. The Kerensky régime came into control at a time when an autocratically ruled people had become frantic, when the seeds of communism had been widely sown; it maintained itself until the exiled leaders of communism and bolshevism had returned and become organized. They utilized the soviets, appealed to the feelings of a bourgeois-hating proletariat, brushed the Kerensky forces aside, and swept into power. When popular feelings swung to the extreme, the Kerensky morale, also weakened by unwise decisions, was caught between Czarism and Bolshevism, and smothered.

The break of the German morale came when the German people perceived that all the strength of American resources and men were against them. The German officers, realizing this situation, made a determined drive to reach Paris, but failed of the grand objective, and the loyalty

⁸ E. A. Ross, *Russia in Upheaval* (Century, 1919), Ch. VIII.

to the Kaiser which had been systematically built up through the years began to crumble.

With America against them, with their strength depleted by four years of fighting, with the promises of their military leaders being repeatedly unfulfilled, the German people began to listen to the socialist leaders who saw a glimmer of hope in accepting President Wilson's "fourteen points." This "swing" so weakened the support of the Kaiser and the military leaders that there was nothing to do but to make armistice terms, even though the German armies were on foreign soil, almost within sight of the enemy's capital. Morale thus is seen in part to be confidence in leaders, and in their promises and ability to make good on these promises.

Breaking the Enemy's Morale. Nowhere in human history is there record of such attempts to undermine the enemy's morale as in the World War. Germany devised elaborate Zeppelin raids which were designed to strike terror into the hearts of women and children, and at the same time to cause the men in the trenches to worry about the home folks. The long distance Big Berthas were built not so much to destroy property and lives, but to engender fear and worry and to weaken loyalty of the Frenchmen in the trenches. Submarine warfare was originated not only to destroy merchandise, ships, and men, but to arouse fear, to suggest omnipresent and lurking dangers, and thus to shift the attention from national loyalty. Loyalty of the enemy to their home folks was aroused in order to break the enemy's loyalty to the national cause. In the introduction of poison gas one idea was to disorganize the enemy's customary technique of fighting and to weaken his solidarity and morale. President Woodrow Wilson made an appeal direct to the German people, indicating that the war was not directed against them but against their military classes and that the masses should turn against a small minority which was leading them to needless destruction. Morale is made up of integrated feelings of social unity. When the integration is disturbed, broken asunder, or dissolved, morale gives way.

Low Morale. The cheating of students in examination affords a convenient laboratory for studying morale. An examination is both a test of a person's ability and of his morale, a test of ability and of self-respect. When the questions are unfair, when circumstances have unduly hampered a person's preparation, when others are cheating and "getting away with it," when a person feels that to be honest puts him at an unfair disadvantage, then his morale may sink. Whatever the provocation, his patterns of constructive behavior may break. Morale, thus, is partly synonymous

with ethical behavior. The morale of the group is found partly in the morals of the group.

When the chronic cheater is considered, his habitual unreliability under certain circumstances stands forth. The brazen cheater is unreliable by habit. A low personal morale thus involves playing loosely with social values. Low group morale sometimes means that many of the members are low principled; sometimes that there is a schism and that one subgroup is fighting another bitterly, or that sub-groups have little or nothing to do with each other.

Morale, it may be concluded, involves the moral soundness of a group and yet it is not the same as the morals of the group. It may involve the loyalty of the members to the group's professed principles, moral or immoral. It includes the confidence that the members have in one another, the degree to which they are working together toward a common goal, the degree of coöperation between the members. It is the group's faith in itself.⁹ Morale is social soundness; it is wholehearted interaction.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Morale is the tone of group behavior.
2. Morale may be measured by the behavior of the members in relation to group standards.
3. Battle courage, college spirit, national patriotism, and religious fervor are emotional evidences of morale.
4. It is easier to create morale than to maintain it, because of its strong feeling currents.
5. Morale is maintained as well as aroused through the use of music and song, appeals to comic imagination and good humor, censorship, propaganda, appeals to soldiership and workmanship, appeals to reason.
6. Morale may collapse when inflated feeling elements are punctured by adverse experiences or by loss of support.
7. Morale is "moral" or social wholesomeness.

PROBLEMS

1. What are the main elements in college spirit?
2. What is the relation of loyalty to morale?
3. How are morale and patriotism connected?
4. What is the origin of the term morale?
5. Why is battle courage a test of morale?
6. How does the goose step increase morale?
7. Why does morale sometimes collapse instead of diminishing slowly?
8. What are the main factors in explaining low morale?
9. What is the relation between cheating in examinations and morale?

⁹ W. E. Hocking, "Morale," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXII: 728.

10. What were the differences in the collapse of the morale of the Czarist forces and of the Kerensky forces?
11. How would you compare or contrast the morale of the United States today with that of the Roman Empire in the time of Nero?
12. How would you measure the morale of a group at a given time?
13. Under what conditions is the morale of a group likely to break?
14. What is the best way to build up a strong morale?
15. What is the difference between morale and morals?
16. How is morale related to good will?

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CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIAL CONTROLS: TYPES AND AGENCIES

CONTROL is a process and controls are the stimuli by which the process operates. Groups control their members in a thousand ways. Most social controls operate unknown to the controlled. Group morale is a subtle integration of indirect social controls. Now and then a person who runs amuck becomes aware of social control, but even he imagines that the rest of the time he is free. When social control is farsighted it develops behavior patterns in children and youth and thus saves itself the employment of objective controls. Social controls are both objective and subjective; they are also negative and positive (constructive).

OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE CONTROLS

Social control is a process of regulating the behavior of persons. It may control (1) from without; (2) indirectly from within; (3) directly from within, and (4) indirectly from both within and without.

1. In the first instance, controls may be quite arbitrary, imperious and dictatorial. Through king, potentate, or priest, the group may "lay down the law" as in Oriental royal and religious proclamations which conclude with the ominous words: "Hear, tremble, and obey." This is the master's attitude toward the slave, the landlord's reaction toward the tenant, the steel magnate's method toward the illiterate "hunkie," especially if the slave, tenant, or "hunkie" become a bit obstreperous.

2. In the second instance, control may exercise circumlocution. It may give the subject the impression that he is controlling himself. Paternalism, for example, offers gifts and renders unnumbered kindnesses; the subjects respond gratefully, but in so doing the latter unwittingly play the rôle of pawns. Employees, as another case in point, are each sold a share of stock at a discount, and hence are made to feel that the given business is their own, whereas the majority of the stock remains in the hands of a few and the whole business is manipulated as before. Public schools set "grades" and plan "contests"; pupils strive for "honors."

3. In the third instance, a person may be taught to control himself in the interest of the group. As a child he learns to act loyally, to fit in agree-

ably with group plans, to sacrifice himself uncomplainingly when group needs require. If education in the home and school develop loyalty attitudes early enough, then a person rarely realizes how he has been socially controlled for life.

4. In the fourth instance, the group trains its members to express themselves freely, and without fear. It develops creative persons. It seeks improvement by stimulating wholesome criticism. It gives persons free rein, and depends upon them to put their shoulder to the wheel of group progress. It gives responsibility and expects wholehearted responses. Sometimes this freedom is misplaced; sometimes it goes to an extreme; sometimes it leads persons to take too much for granted. This type of social control, however, has the greatest possibilities; its efficiency to-day, however, is hampered by ignorance, prejudices, specialization. Ignorance and prejudices may grow less, but specialization is bound to grow narrow, and blind to the needs of the whole.

NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE CONTROLS

Negative Controls. Negative control inhibits as contrasted with positive control which inspires. It appeals to fear while positive control arouses hope. It resorts to force; positive control, to love. It is repressive; positive control is developmental. Any reference to repressive controls explains the nature of and need for constructive controls. The evils of repression have been pointed out by recent psychiatric studies.¹

Historically, human groups have exerted social pressure at the expense of social inspiration. They have multiplied the "Thou shalt not's"; they have featured the rod. All control bodies emphasize negation. The early Hebrews stressed negative behavior rules; the Puritans became notorious for their negative controls. The Inquisition was built on negative pressures. Nearly everywhere society has used and advertised torture, capital punishment, dark and dismal dungeons, the guillotine, and the gallows as deterrents. People have overemphasized "don'ts," while religion once pictured burning brimstone as the fate of sinners.

In the past, "don't" has been overemphasized; and "do" neglected. A group has left its members free until they came near the border line of group traditions and then it has spoken negatively and arbitrarily. Repressive control is exercised when a group hurls opprobrious names at individuals who veer away from group standards. Heretic, shyster, quitter,

¹ For example, see Healy et al., *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth* (Knopf, 1929).

boner, knocker, tomboy, sissy, fraidy-cat, renegade, traitor, bolshevik—the use of these terms acts as negative social pressures. Immigrants often stagger under a heavy burden of negative controls, as shown by such disheartening epithets as dago, hunkie, wop, sheeny, chink, spaghetti-eater. The look of scorn cast by the débutante upon the hard-working daughter of the farm or factory is withering; the haughty “once over” which the millionaire’s chauffeur gives the humble owner of a Ford is ostracizing. Silk gloves sneer at horny hands; power overawes weakness.

It was once necessary for groups to give negative pressures precedence over positive controls. When fang and claw ruled, groups supervised their members with rods of iron in order to protect themselves against enemy groups. With the development of social knowledge and socialized attitudes, positive controls may be substituted for negative ones. Anti-social conduct is often produced by negative controls; pro-social conduct, by positive ones. If a child acts badly, that proves at least that he has energy which is seeking expression. Energy, however, if dammed up by negative controls will sooner or later break through the dam or go over the banks at one or more weak places. When a person commits a crime, the act implies misdirected energy—energy that might have been expressed wholesomely if constructive stimuli had been functioning. When society shuts up a criminal in a dark, ill-ventilated jail, feeds him stale bread, isolates him from wholesome contacts, he naturally turns to brooding. Although negative controls are essential, their conventional usage creates more evil than good. A tentative law of social control may be postulated as follows: *The more nearly social justice is obtained through self-controls, the less will be the need for negative social pressures.*

Positive Controls. Positive controls make repression unnecessary. Energies put to constructive ends are not available for harmful activities. Routine but necessary tasks when translated into personal “interests” are sought rather than shunned. Discipline and development come through activity better than through repression. Positive social control is a *process of stimulating personal energy in socially wholesome directions.* “Positive” is used here in the sense of constructive.

Positive control says neither “Don’t” nor “Do”; it does not order this or that. It affirms. It sets up attractive goals that are to be sought for their own sake and for the stimulation that the achievement involves. It focuses attention on prizes for winners, but stimulates persons to be creative for the sake of creation in behalf of human improvement. It encourages not obedience so much as initiation, in fact as much initiative as is compatible with group unity. It is similar to L. F. Ward’s principle

of "attractive legislation."² Ward would have the group offer inducements to persons to perform acts socially beneficial. This standard implies, however, that people have to be bought, or encouraged artificially. An illustration is a sign in a French park which reads: "Surely the public may be trusted not to harm its property." Another illustration is the American sign, "Gentlemen will not spit on the floor; others must not." It would be better if social service could be brought about without "inducements," without expectation of personal reward, but for the sake of the values involved in helping other persons to grow and to create.

Although constructive controls have been exercised by offering and awarding honors, degrees, prizes, these have usually made an appeal only to the few. Society needs universal procedures for stimulating each person to do his best, instead of allowing him to do just enough "to get by with." Despite popular education, most people are greatly hampered by lack of broad social vision and of creative opportunities. Most people are working far below their best. Although groups have developed "hero" terminology, yet such terminology is far behind the use of "traitor" and "heretic" nomenclatures. Although constructive controls rely on *hope* rather than on *fear*, yet hope is far less instant and powerful than fear in regulating behavior. There is need, therefore, for social controls that will stimulate hope and hold fear in check, that will release rather than repress, that will promote justice rather than injustice, that will substitute creative for routine activity.

Positive control at its best subordinates the interests of the part to those of the whole; of sectional to national welfare; of nationalism to world progress; of "denominationalism" to human service; of factionalism to community spirit. It formulates ideals, group ideals, world ideals, and encourages honest criticism of them. It substitutes vision for narrowness; tolerance for prejudice; brings out the best in every person so that each becomes attractive not to a few but to all.

Positive or constructive control is based on a scientific knowledge of the principles of social progress. It works out social procedures on the basis of these principles. It stimulates all from young to old to try out these procedures and to improve them. It seeks to change anti-social impulses into socialized patterns, sublimate narrow pecuniary urges into social welfare behavior, to turn egoism toward altruism, to reorganize personalities into more stately dynamos of usefulness.

The greatest enemy of constructive controls is *narrowness*. No matter how fine a social spirit may be engendered within a group, whether within

² *Applied Sociology* (Ginn, 1906), p. 336.

a fraternity or a nation, that group may still hold exceedingly narrow attitudes toward other groups. Cliquishness and haughtiness are characteristics of excessive group loyalty. Social education ranked high in Germany in 1914, but was dominated by hyper-nationalism, and Germany was dangerous to the world. The world will be safe only when there is a world-group procedure in which every nation-group has a free voice "according to the intelligence and public spirit of its members," and in which no one group shall dominate.³

Constructive controls will furnish all persons full opportunities for creative activities, for building socialized attitudes, and for assuming enlarging social responsibilities.⁴ If routine tasks cannot be made interesting, machines will be invented to take care of them. Human energies will be directed more and more into problem-solving activities. Human nature will be drawn out into creative effort rather than crushed.

That manufacturing establishment which not only turns out honest shoes but stimulates all the employees to develop themselves, to have voices in the management, to become more useful citizens of the community, of the nation, and of the world illustrates constructive control. That classroom in which students, forming themselves into small groups, are stimulated to do coöperative thinking and investigating demonstrates the validity of positive controls. That community which stimulates its members to sacrifice for the common good so extensively that they have not time for and receive no recognition for shrewdly working for themselves has caught the meaning of constructive controls. Constructive controls create so many opportunities and make life so socially helpful that all persons feel the thrill of an abundant life, develop their personalities to the fullest, and devote their time to creating wholesome opportunities for their fellows.

SOCIAL CONTROL AGENCIES

The agencies that put social controls into operation are legion. They have varied through the ages and yet a few have carried the major responsibilities. Some of these may now be discussed. (1) Public opinion is one of the most common social influences to which personality is subject. (2) Laws are the most specific and tangible of all controls. (3) Ceremony and ritual are the most rigid. (4) Art is the most pleasing and alluring. It is

³ See Chapter LVIII, on "The Principle of Balance," in E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930).

⁴ See L. F. Ward's discussion of "Meliorism" in Ch. XXXIV, of his *Psychic Factors of Civilization* (Ginn, 1906), and of "Opportunity" in Ch. IX of his *Applied Sociology* (Ginn, 1906).

the subtlest. (5) Religion wields powerful influences over many people. Its strength has been in supernatural sanctions. (6) Education catches individuals when young and uncritical, and uses effective techniques.

Public Opinion Controls. On the basis of the discussion of public opinion presented in a preceding chapter it may be said that without easy and quick means of spreading personal opinions a public opinion cannot be efficiently formed, and that without its formation democracy cannot function. There is a definite interrelation between publicity and democracy. Before the development of the press and the telegraph, public opinion controls were in the hands of self-constituted authorities. Whatever the "chiefs," "lords," kings wished to exercise was done by fiat, messengers carried the orders, a council was addressed and "influenced." Behind the fiats and the orders was the executioner's block, exile, or ostracism. Publics were confined to crowds and assemblies, and public opinion was local.

Then by the slow processes of time occurred the invention of publicity agencies. The printing press existed for several centuries before it led to publics and to public opinion. The telegraph belatedly came to its rescue, and publicity techniques leaped into operation. When publicity agents began to spread news and create public opinions among the masses the struggle for social mastery became bitter. A leading social struggle to-day is for the control of the means of publicity. Some metropolitan newspapers give evidence of being "bought and kept," of being "propagandist," of putting property interests above human welfare, of keeping insinuation and misrepresentation at work in behalf of class interests.

A hindrance to democracy is found in a press that is itself oftentimes secretly controlled—by private interests. When the strength and subtlety of this control is considered, one marvels that democracy is able to advance at all. Although the press has been a powerful disseminating agency, it has at times disseminated more falsehood than truth, has "selected" the news, omitting important items and "coloring" the rest. In these ways newspapers control public opinion and prevent its free formation.

Legal and Governmental Controls. Law is crystallized-opinion. In a democracy, it is crystallized majority opinion. Law is made by "representatives" who are often ill-trained. It is reviewed by judges who are bound to follow precedents. It is often unscientific in its content, and generally so in its derivation.

Any reference to a legislature or a congress at work in passing laws brings to mind sinister influences, log-rolling, sectional vote-trading, secret bargaining, until one is amazed that modern legislation should claim to be democratic. Legislators have rarely been trained in social welfare princi-

ples. They are subject to every conceivable type of "influence," with the least worthy influences being the subtlest and the most powerful.

Another and related problem is that those who enforce the law are often more incompetent than many legislators. This work is farther removed from public scrutiny and hence more subject to temptation. The traditional policeman has been sturdy, able to speak gruffly and to wield a club, but unversed in scientific controls. Many jail and prison officials have autocratically enforced the law, and succumbed to political graft. In the minor courts, the magistrates have often had an unsavory record, especially in dealing with immigrants.⁵

Law works belatedly as a social control. By its nature law cannot be formulated and executed until time has elapsed. Facts must be secured, bills drawn up, hearings given, discussions held, a majority decision recorded, and constitutionality established. During this lapse of time which may easily become drawn out, evil interests may operate uncontrolled. In this interim the "criminaloid," as portrayed by E. A. Ross, flourishes.⁶

Legal controls easily become inflexible. Their exponents received their academic years before they became public agents. Their ethics is not based on an up-to-date knowledge of welfare needs but on past teachings. Law has so often bowed to precedent that it rarely represents current need. Its nature compels it to conserve, which makes it conservative. Its eyes are turned backward more often than forward. It often exercises control with provoking slowness.

Law controls overt acts, but is cautious in dealing with motives or attitudes. Overt behavior is a scientific criterion of personality, when sequences and coexistences of acts may be considered over a period of time. Law controls specific acts when the latter overstep certain prescribed bounds. Since law is codified, it is tangible, economical, specific. It is preventive, because its provisions can be published succinctly far and wide.

Law acts with force. Within general limits it controls behavior effectively, despite a certain common disregard for law enforcement. Too slow at times, too subject to technicalities, too often "bought" by big interests, its worth is often seriously questioned.

Government inclusive of legal machinery is a mighty engine of control. National governments are especially omnipotent. In war times the able-bodied are required to kill, news is censored, dissenters are muzzled, public opinion is controlled. Even in peace times, governmental controls operate

⁵ See Kate H. Claghorn, *The Immigrant's Day in Court* (Harper, 1923).

⁶ *Sin and Society* (Houghton Mifflin, 1907).

steadily. Taxes are assessed, the courts are in session continually, the police are on duty day and night.

Ceremonial and Ritual Controls. Primitive man, modern fraternal orders, churches, governments, all depend on ceremonials as controls. These originated partly with autocracy. Primitive leaders relied on ceremony to give them prestige or veneer. When a leader does not command respect naturally, he must resort to force or to pomp and ceremony. He creates ceremonies and installs himself in them. If the individual challenges an inadequate leader he is accused of taking the group's symbols in vain. The autocratic leader delights to frame himself within the ceremonial halo.

Ceremony radiates mystery and creates awe. Again autocracy deliberately manufactures ceremonial controls in order to protect itself from attack or from being openly questioned. Ceremonial mystery baffles investigation and may become the hiding-out place of many false or evil controls. Ceremony overcomes the docile and defies attack by the pugnacious.

Ceremony is the group visualized, standardized, and magnified. It is the symbol of all that the group has fought for; it carries the group's wand. It is the group raised to the unapproachable. Its force, therefore, is irresistible when measured against the strength of a single individual.

Ceremonial controls are inflexible. No matter how well planned they soon grow out-of-date. Not being regularly subject to review and reform, they grow more rigid than law. They become imbedded in the customs of primary groups and reach individuals while they are young. They build themselves into the behavior patterns of childhood and youth.

Ritual is the method for performing a ceremony. The ritual magnifies the achievements of the group. In a fraternity initiation, the group and its glorious past are magnified; the individual is reduced to helplessness. In a church ritual the past is lived over again and many outworn dogmas are given prominence. Ritual at its best is impressive, dignified, and lifting; at its worst it is merely conventional, a mumbling, an appeal to magical formulae, an insult to intelligence.

Art Controls. Art controls are gentle and indirect. They set patterns of behavior in such pleasing ways that onlookers find themselves responding unawares. They operate by appeals to the feelings, emotions, and sentiments. They are non-didactic, non-moralizing. They thrive in the pleasurable tones of life; they "polarize the feelings."

Art controls are universal. They know no human limits. Millet's inter-

pretation of the peasant is understood wherever it is seen. "Madonna" patterns are recognized, appreciated, and responded to everywhere at a glance. Music touches a responsive chord in every soul; it bows the soul of the penitent; it sends the soldier forward into battle. At its best it arouses super-worldly urges, energizes tired hearts and brains, and turns human attention from sordid to broadly spiritual goals; at its worst it turns melody into noise, and slumps off into the sensuous. Music re-directs human energies.

Art controls use order, rhythm, and symmetry. Human beings are partially controlled by "the influence of that which pervades and rules in the heavens and the earth, and in the mind and body." Since art patterns have such wide appeals, special interests are prone to manipulate the unsuspecting.

The art controls found in personal decoration, ornamentation, architecture, painting, and sculpture, are static; the pattern forms found in the dance, song, poetry, music and public speech possess a moving element. The music of three centuries ago which sways multitudes to-day effectively molds current behavior.

Art as a control agency is in special need of pre-viewing. Its rhythmic appeals are easily sensualized. Its use of indirect suggestion is all-powerful. Its moral passivity permits it to fall helplessly into the hands of designing individuals. It is a law unto itself and hence often shies away from standard social values.

Religious Controls. Religious beliefs are powerful controls. They bring the believer in a personal God under the direction of an all-powerful Being whose eye "seeth in secret." Both public opinion and law can be evaded, but not a Judge who is "all-seeing, all-knowing, and all-powerful." Religious ideals, implanted in childhood, gain control before reasoning develops. Religion ties up with the deepest sentiments and comes to the rescue in the saddest hours of life—hence its influence is momentous.

Social religion is especially helpful in creating patterns of control. A widespread belief in the brotherhood of man softens antagonisms and fosters desires for justice. Social religion promotes humanitarian practices and socialized patterns.

Educational Controls. Education represents a sheaf of controls. Education through the schools, the press, the platform, and other institutions is the parent of all social controls. Through education the group can train its young in almost any direction it wills. Consequently, group education should not be determined by a small coterie, but by representatives of the entire group.

Informal education excels systematic education in furnishing effective social control. The latter uses direct suggestion; the former, indirect. The informal atmosphere that the teacher creates in the classroom is more influential than the formal instruction. The family likewise in its informal ways is more effective than in its formal "do's" and "don'ts." In other words primary groups furnish the main educational controls. The highest educational controls train individuals to act naturally in line with the common weal.

INSTITUTIONAL CONTROLS

Social control agencies may be summarized in terms of *institutions*. Persons wish to protect children, the family and marriage as control institutions develop. Persons wish to keep people working together and to prevent them from destroying each other, and government as a control institution grows. Persons wish to protect the material results of individual efforts and use private property as a *powerful control agency*. Persons wish to conserve and promote esthetic impulses, and art institutions increase in influence. Persons wish to further religious impulses, and the church as an institution exercises a strong hand. Persons wish to train children to learn, and school institutions flourish.

Since institutions are conserving they easily become backward agents of social control. They may use "big sticks." As a result of their tangible, formal character, they acquire prestige, stand for the group itself, and hence, become arbitrary. It is here that a vicious circle develops and that institutions become paralyzing to personal initiative—more dangerous than helpful.

Institutions exercise either private or public control. A private institution can experiment and suggest changes in control methods. Its membership and activities are more voluntary, it is freer to produce new ideas, to criticize, to change itself. On the other hand, a public institution is more distinctly the product of a majority opinion. It rules more arbitrarily. It is most successful where activities can be standardized, where common opinion prevails, where simplicity rather than complexity rules, where something is to be maintained rather than changed.

Institutions are either "operative" or "regulative." It is the latter type, such as the institution of government, which exercise social control widely. The former confine their control to activities within their four walls. Private or "operative" institutions may become careless and arbitrary as well as scientific; public or "regulative" institutions, progressive as well as standardized.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Control is a process and controls are the stimuli by which control operates.
2. Social control may be objective and imposed.
3. Social control may be subjective, indirect, and exercised from within the person.
4. Objective control increases in proportion to deficiencies in subjective control.
5. The more liberal form of control encourages personal freedom, but not license.
6. Negative controls beget anti-social behavior.
7. Positive controls of the constructive type integrate activity and develop personalities.
8. The agencies of social control include public opinion, law and government, ceremony and ritual, art, religion, education.
9. Institutions are citadels of social control.
10. Institutions resist change and grow antiquated as control agencies.

PROBLEMS

1. Illustrate the difference between *control* and *controls*.
2. Illustrate the distinction between *subjective* and *objective* controls.
3. In what ways is public opinion an excellent agency of control?
4. How is public opinion a poor control agency?
5. Is the cartoon or the editorial more effective as a control instrument?
6. Is the sardonic cartoon or the good-humored one more effective?
7. How is law a good control agency?
8. How is law poor as a control agency?
9. Why are laws in a democracy lightly broken?
10. Why is government so powerful as a control agency?
11. Wherein lies the control strength of ceremony?
12. Why is ritual so strong in exercising social control?
13. Why does art as a form of control need regulation?
14. What is the key to the strength of religious controls?
15. Which exercises more control over its members, a business organization or a church organization? Why?
16. Explain "the tyranny of the majority."
17. May an overwhelming majority be as tyrannical as a king?
18. Distinguish between "the tyranny of the majority" and "the fatalism of the multitude."
19. Is it true that members of a small minority, no matter how meritorious its side of a question may be, are often called "traitors" and other wounding names by an overwhelming majority?
20. Explain: The state is more rapacious than it allows its members to be.
21. Who are the professionals whose business it is to maintain the social order?
22. Explain: "We who would like to love our neighbors as ourselves are maintaining systems of social control that actually prevent us from doing so."

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CHAPTER XXXIV

SOCIAL CONTROLS: PRODUCTS AND PROBLEMS

SOCIAL controls produce standards and types of behavior. Every group favors certain activities and penalizes other conduct. By these favoring and frowning processes certain activities crystallize into accepted standards and types; other activities become taboo. The social selection and control of standards is usually effected in a hit-and-miss, unscientific fashion. Strong persons, representing certain interests, lead the way in creating opinion and organizing judgments. The result is found in standards by which the behavior of all individuals is measured. Law and the police come to the support of these adventitiously derived standards. If a standard is codified in the form of an accepted law, it cannot be easily changed. If it gets into a "decatalogue" or a national constitution, then it becomes a super-standard by which other standards are judged. It achieves a position at the heart of social control.

Tabooed behavior standards are often the accepted standards in subgroups. Complete group unanimity regarding behavior rarely exists. Tabooed behavior is often a fiat of misplaced control or of negative control. It is behavior opposed to the wishes of those in power. A great deal of behavior is favored in one group but tabooed in another depending on the type of control in operation.

Behavior products of social control run the gamut from stagnant behavior, unsocial behavior, pseudo-social behavior, and anti-social behavior to pro-social behavior of different levels. They range from crushed, purposeless, fake behavior, and even destructive behavior to helpful behavior and pre-eminently sacrificial behavior. These behavior products will now be considered in order.

PRODUCTS OF CONTROL

Stagnant Behavior. Controls applied too rigorously crush initiative and ambition, and paralyze social change. If those in control use bullet and guillotine on all who dissent and are able to keep up their brutality, the strong-willed dissenters perish, and only the docile and stagnant survive.

The Kechuas were the sustainers of the Inca civilization, and it is suggested that their long subjection to the patriarchal régime of the Incas had the effect of taking the iron out of their blood. The strong-willed or variant individuals sooner or later bumped up against the established order and came to grief, while the pliant and docile survived. Certain it is that the will of the Kechua is strong only in a passive way.¹

A striking illustration of this same point is given by E. B. Reuter in referring to population control in Spain.

She undertook, more systematically than most of the West European nations, to control the type of her population. The Moors, her industrious and prosperous but religiously and racially heterodox citizens, she expelled in the interests of racial and religious unity. The undesigned result was the destruction of the possibility of industrial development. In the interests of religion and the redistribution of financial power, she expelled the Jews with results disastrous to her business and commercial prosperity, and finally, and again in the interests of a decadent religious orthodoxy, she destroyed her intellectuals and thereby insured herself a long period of religious orthodoxy and intellectual stagnation. Not all official efforts at population control have been as systematically stupid as the efforts of the Spanish but few have been effective in the way intended.²

Unsocial Behavior. Where social controls are few, behavior remains unsocial. The infant is content if fed and comfortable, but cries if anything goes wrong with his organism. He is not *against* other individuals; neither is he *for* them; he is simply *for* himself. He is *in* the group but not an active part of it.

When his parents attempt to hush his wailing, or refuse to pick him up when he yells, control begins to operate. Irrespective of who may be disturbed, of what time of the night it may be, or how they may try to hush him up, he cries louder. His failures to respond to social controls bring upon him the appellations of "naughty child," "little imp," and "young autocrat"—both from his parents and disturbed neighbors. Yet there is no evidence that he has deliberately set himself against society.

Mental defectives do not respond well to social controls. No matter what pressure is brought to bear upon them, they are incapable of developing a normal social responsibility. Their social nature remains incomplete. If phlegmatic, they are rarely harmful to others; if impulsive they may give way to fits of rage and commit serious offences.

In infants and the mentally deficient, social controls cannot function

¹ E. A. Ross, *South of Panama* (Century, 1918), p. 247.

² E. B. Reuter, *Population Problems* (Lippincott, 1923), p. 10. Lecky supports Reuter's contention, for he says: "The ruin of Spain may be traced chiefly to the expulsion or extirpation of her Moorish, Jewish, and heretical subjects." *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, I: 186.

normally. Social responses remain simple. Simplified controls only are of value. The controlling and directing of the feelings are the main needs that require attention.

Pseudo-Social Behavior. Controls may produce a falsely social behavior. The small child often learns to "work" his parents. The son or daughter may discover the parents' weaknesses and cater to these in order to secure coveted favors. The salesman looks for his prospective customer's whims and flatters the "prospect." The pupil seeks to please the teachers in order to secure grades.

Beggars feign distress. Where charity grants are regularly made, a percentage of applicants will claim themselves worthy of aid. The dole system is repeatedly charged with making paupers and creating falsely social attitudes. By feigning need, a mendicant may not only support himself but also two or three able-bodied relatives or friends. In the meantime, all live without learning a useful trade or without socially producing.

Politicians quickly learn how to appeal to voters. Slogans that play upon emotions are invented. The politician tells the people how he serves them, and nobody else! Note the Slogan of Andy Gump: "One hundred per cent for the people; wears no man's collar." Church pews are rented and occupied regularly by persons desiring "trade," or to work up a "practice." Persons observe the social rules or controls in order to secure "good will."

Feigned social behavior is a common by-product of group controls. It cannot be prevented and yet it leads to hypocrisy and exploitation. The best way to determine whether social rules are being observed sincerely is to judge a person's behavior over a long period of time and under many kinds of circumstances.

Paternalism produces a certain amount of pseudo-social behavior. It indirectly trains people to look to others for help which by exertion and persistence they might render themselves. A whole nation under either fascism or socialism may encourage falsely social behavior. Under state socialism there is danger that the people learn to lean on the state whenever they get in need, that they grow careless, and that they unnecessarily fall into need. If state socialism as a system fails to encourage thrift, or to train people to look after the common property well, then the state may have to support large numbers.³

Only under that form of democracy which encourages thrift and self-reliance can a state be protected against wholesale pseudo-social behavior.

³ This was the principle at stake in the early months of 1931 when the Congress of the United States deliberated at length on aiding certain drought-stricken areas.

Democracy of course may foster an economic order which enables a few to profit at the expense of the many, and thus encourage the few to feign falsely "100 per cent loyalty" in order to maintain their vantage ground. England's experience with her Poor Laws reveals the problem of helping the weak without creating pseudo-social attitudes.

The principle of anticipation operates strongly.⁴ When it becomes known that philanthropic persons will help the needy, certain persons will artificially qualify in order to procure aid. Inheritance taxes will be anticipated by the legally wary. Children will practice company manners before the famous come to dine; they become dutiful before Christmas. Pupils "play up" to teachers. College students engage in "apple-polishing." Note the following account:

I study my teachers, more than my lessons. I work on my lessons by spells and "take in" all that the professor says in class. The professor "goes over" all the main points anyway, especially in the social sciences. You really don't have to study much—if you keep your ears open in class, and talk up once in a while, using the knowledge you have gained in previous class periods.

I make a specialty of the hard-boiled kind, of the one who has a gruff exterior, who prides himself on being "a stiff marker," who boasts that "no one ever gets by him without earning all he gets." One teacher likes term papers, so I specialize on that for him, make them "scholarly," use footnotes, have them typed nicely, put on a cover, and get them in a day ahead of time if possible. Then I coast along for a time. Another teacher is a stickler for form, detail, and little insignificant things. I concentrate on these for him, and he thinks that I am a wonder—more coasting ahead for me. Still another is strong on collateral. I turn in to him twice the required amount and regularly too. You should see the collateral notes that I turn in. But it doesn't take me long. I choose my books "wisely," get the opening and closing pages of each chapter, dip in here and there for variety's sake—and it's all done. Superficial? But it gets A's.

Then, there is the kind who loves to be popular, and to have the students praising him. The one who is voted the most popular is easy meat. He will fall for most anything. A few sentences of praise about a given lecture or part of the course, expressed very seriously, a fair degree of attention, regularity of attendance and a front seat—and the professor thinks that I am a student after his own heart.

I always seem very interested in class, even when the discussion or lecture is dead. When the class members are getting restless and the instructor is embarrassed, I try to ask a question. Interest is aroused, attention comes back, and the teacher is grateful. I can see it on his face. Not infrequently I stay after class to ask a question that "isn't quite clear." I generally come a little ahead of time, and sit near the front if possible. The teacher often talks informally with me while waiting for the opening bell to ring.

Sometime during each course, I usually ask what are the possibilities of "majoring" in the field, and whether I should change my major. I am nearly always invited to come to the office "to talk the matter over." In the conversation I put in something about my father, or uncle, or where we used to live,

⁴E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1930), Ch. LIV.

and this leads the instructor to take a personal interest in me. But I never stay long—not too long. "I'm pretty busy, you know."

When one of them asks in an exam. what the course has meant to the students, I start by saying that at the beginning I either didn't know a thing about the subject (which is usually nonsense), or else that I felt that I wouldn't like the field, but that as the course went on, my eyes were opened. I had become more and more interested. Certain class periods have changed my outlook on life. And now that the course is drawing to a close, I feel the need of keeping up my reading in the field, and if I can, of taking more courses along this same line.⁵

Anti-Social Behavior. Undue repression of normal impulses leads to recalcitration; unfair coercion stimulates radical behavior. Every normal child finds himself repeatedly in conflict with controls in the home, at school, on the playground, on the street. He revolts, but the way in which he is treated when he revolts is all-important. If he feels that he is being abused, his impulses become fixated in anti-social directions. On the other hand, if the error of his ways is carefully explained and punishment administered in the spirit of justice, not of anger or revenge, he may sooner or later admit its wisdom and reverse himself.

Anti-social behavior sometimes roots in pure counter suggestion. A youth with an exceptionally strong individuality tends to react against any and every onerous social restraint. Social controls, unless administered with special skill, are likely to turn such youths into hardened criminals. Anti-social behavior that is met only by harsh restraints grows more anti-social.

A flabbiness or absence of control is often followed by anti-social behavior. Parents fail to discipline sufficiently; they are "too easy," or allow children to have their own way, with the result that the children never learn a wholesome respect for law and order and justice. They remain "spoiled children" throughout life.

The born-criminal theory of Lombroso is exploded, although there are moral imbeciles or individuals incapable of making moral judgments. Moreover patterns of disobedience of children of high intelligence quotients may grow from bad to worse, and criminal habits become established. Anti-social conduct may be either destructive or refusal to abide by laws. Misunderstanding, no vision, no sense of responsibility often account for anti-social behavior.

A delinquent or criminal often is pro-social in his relations with his pals. Conduct may be anti-social in one group and pro-social in another group at the same time, because of the differences in social standards. A

⁵ Quoted from a citation in E. S. Bogardus, "Teaching and Social Distance," *Jour. of Educational Sociology*, I: 596.

person may feel and act very anti-socially in certain situations and pro-socially in other situations. He may act anti-socially one moment and pro-socially the next in the same situation, because of a change in his attitudes. Controls which do not prevent misunderstanding, give vision, or arouse social responsibility, result in unsocial or anti-social behavior.

Pro-social Behavior. Social controls are intended to produce pro-social behavior. Individuals cannot grow up in a social group without learning to make some constructive responses. Individuals who respond pro-socially have better chances of survival than do others. Since pro-social behavior has survival values, it is natural and to be expected. Everyone is pro-social toward at least a few other persons. An atmosphere of good will and confidence furnishes the best controls.

Certain persons are aroused by social stimuli to give their lives unstintingly to great causes. In specific situations they may sacrifice themselves without a single thought about personal gain. Preëminently pro-social behavior demonstrates what can be accomplished by social stimuli acting as controls. It shows that the proper controls can shift the axis of behavior from self to others, from self-gain to self-sacrifice, from meanness to helpfulness.

PROBLEMS OF CONTROL

Social controls are commonly too rigid in certain connections, too lax in other ways, and too haphazard in nearly all particulars. They may be applied too strictly under certain conditions and too loosely under others. Since social controls are often applied objectively they coerce unjustly, occasionally maltreat, and make persons seditious. Generally, a person is not properly stimulated to do his best. Consequently from the social welfare standpoint vital questions may be raised. (1) What shall be the direction of social control? (2) How much social control shall be exercised? (3) How shall this control be applied? (4) What controls shall be used?

The problems are those of direction, quantity, method, and quality. For example, shall a person's interests or those of the group be conserved? How long shall the disobedient child be shut up in the closet, or deprived of play privileges? In order to produce the most wholesome effects, how long shall a given adult offender be imprisoned? Should all who have committed the same offense be punished equally? Shall controls be applied arbitrarily, belatedly, or shall they operate indirectly? Shall the teacher, for instance, use the same controls in handling a mischievous boy bubbling

over with energy as in dealing with a sneak? What controls shall a parent use in treating a "story-telling" or "fibbing" child who is giving free rein to imagination? Shall society use the same castigation for an obstreperous fanatic as for a stubborn corporation? What is scientific social control?

The Direction of Control. Social control is a process of regulating personal behavior in the direction of social welfare. The direction may be determined by one person, which is pure autocracy; by the group as such, which may be autocratic or democratic; or by all the members of the group acting intelligently and pro-socially together, which is pure democracy. In pre-literate or illiterate groups the trend of controls is determined by a few. Where illiteracy persists, no matter if a titular democracy obtains, the controls will be largely autocratic, for an illiterate people cannot think in large terms. Their feelings are easily subject to manipulation. It is only in a small face-to-face group that all may take part freely and that pure democratic controls may operate.

Where a few control and the masses follow, group welfare is likely to be interpreted to the advantage of the few, with corresponding controls being maintained. In many social situations the few in authority assume that they are born to be superior and feel that the many exist for the benefit of the "elect." In a business corporation a minority generally controls the majority. In many churches likewise a minority maintains control.

In a large nation such as the United States, social control is in the hands of a minority most of the time. There are representatives elected to "represent" all the people, but the problems of government have become so numerous and complicated and the people so many that experts are required. These experts can be played against each other by manipulators and special interests until majority rule is defeated.

Although nearly all social controls have arisen from past group experiences, they are not always adequate guides for current authority. Social controls have grown up like Topsy, and have been put into operation clumsily. Rarely have social controls been tested scientifically before being installed. Many, however, possess more merit than their objectors recognize.

Every group presumably exercises control over its members for their self-protection, in order that their energies may not be dissipated, and in order that the group itself may not degenerate. It is encouraging when a group revises its controls, when it does not settle back on its past, when it works indirectly and builds socialized attitudes in its membership. It is hopeful when groups diagnose themselves and develop controls scientifically.

Too Much or Too Little Control. It is natural that social controls should sometimes accumulate a momentum that crushes individual initiative. Persons in control easily drift into assuming unwarranted authority. Their position and power make it possible for them to punish or intimidate critics. On the other hand, in the school, for example, where too little control is exercised, pupils make life miserable for the teachers, and develop destructive patterns. In the nation too much control is illustrated by fascism with its black-coated soldiers everywhere; too little control, by widespread disregard for law in the United States. Too much control is autocracy; too little is anarchy.

Too little control hinders conservation of social values. It gives self-centered attitudes an inordinate leeway. It gives schemers and exploiters too much freedom. The shrewd politician may hoodwink the innocent; the more sophisticated business man may take advantage of the weak. Too little control leads to license; and license to licentiousness.

Control Applied too Abruptly. There are also the problems of how to apply control. Granted that control is needed and that the requisite amount has been determined, its success or failure may depend on how it is applied. In the home a child caught in some misdemeanor may be suddenly pounced on by an irate parent; in the neighborhood a "gang" when caught in an escapade may be promptly jailed. Adult offenders, especially if poor and without friends, feel the swift hand of the law. Instead of being led to perceive the error of their ways, they brood upon their plight, feeling a bitter sense of injustice; their recalcitrancy is increased and their group loyalty flattened out.

Superficial responses may be produced by abrupt and rigid controls. Persons "go through" the forms, kotow, and become hypocrites. Obedience and loyalty are feigned. Unjust but powerful controls always create hypocrisy in those who have a sense of the fitness of things but are unable or afraid to strike back, or who are ruled by expediency. A great deal of seeming coöperation with those in authority and no small proportion of the compliments paid to "officials" may be charged to deference, not to persons but to "position" and "control."

Control Applied too Gently. Control applied apologetically or half-heartedly or gently because of sympathy usually fails to command respect. This failure leads to open flouting of control. To be effective, control must be exercised without hesitation or flinching. Reasons may be given for it, and regret expressed at being obliged to apply it, but firmness, even a kindly firmness with the emphasis on the firmness may be applied.

It is important that the subjects of control understand that they are being treated in the spirit of fair play.

How to Make Controls Scientific. To regulate controls adequately calls for several safeguards. 1. In the first place, scientific controls depend on as accurate knowledge as can be obtained concerning the nature of human nature, of intersocial stimulation, of social processes. In these fields social psychology, sociology, and the other social sciences have made a beginning. Ultimately they may be expected to furnish the essential facts and principles so that intelligent controls may be formulated for various types of social situations.

2. This knowledge is being disseminated to all, together with full explanations of needs for wise controls, and of the limits beyond which personal liberty cannot go without destroying social unity and preventing social progress. A scientific system for getting all the vital facts, principles, and meanings to all concerned is important. To this end reformations in newspaper service, in education, in pulpit and platform are needed. Radio and television hold unforeseen possibilities.

3. On the basis of facts and principles widely disseminated, a training of people generally in social diagnosis and prognosis is vital. To the extent that people appreciate the meaning of social telenesis, controls will become more socialized.

4. Scientific controls curb self-centered activities and stimulate in all attitudes of responding naturally in behalf of the common welfare and of self-welfare secondarily.

5. Scientific controls encourage spontaneity along socially constructive lines, further creative living without permitting pig-trough licentiousness, and attempt to elicit a democratic responsiveness from all persons all the time.

6. Scientific controls secure enough standardization to insure efficiency, but leave plenty of room for personal variation and initiative. They will shun that "appalling uniformity" with which the French educational system was once accredited, whereby "the minister of public instruction can look at his watch and tell what verb is being conjugated at that time in all the schools of France."

7. Scientific controls evaluate persons according to behavior, promise of development, and need, rather than according to looks, adornment, birth, wealth, position, class, or caste. They put character and reliability above "pull" and cleverness.

8. Scientific controls economize human energies, although encouraging

at the same time enough experimentation to guarantee the fullest possible range of personal and societal development.

9. They maintain a wholesome balance between social organization and personal initiative. They are being applied directly enough to be respected and indirectly enough to create a sense of responsibility.

10. Scientific controls maintain balances between socialization and individualization, putting patterns of socialized achievement foremost.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Social controls are stimuli which produces behavior types.
2. Rigorous controls lead to stagnant or rebellious behavior.
3. No controls are accompanied by unsocial or anarchic behavior.
4. Certain controls may be anticipated and pseudo-social behavior encouraged.
5. Paternalistic controls generate an amount of falsely-social behavior.
6. Unduly repressive or unfair or unscientific controls account in part for anti-social behavior.
7. Constructive and helpful controls beget pro-social or socialized behavior.
8. Important problems of control are: *What kinds of control shall be used? How much control? and How shall control be applied?*
9. Equally significant questions are: *How to avoid too much or too little, too abrupt or too gentle, too early or too belated control.*
10. Adequate social control calls for a greatly increased and better distributed knowledge of societal laws than is now available.

PROBLEMS

1. Give the most recent example of non-social behavior that you have observed, and indicate how it is related to social control.
2. What control factors produce pseudo-social behavior.
3. Illustrate how paternalistic control produces pseudo-social behavior.
4. What control factors often lead to anti-social behavior?
5. Is control related to normal types of social behavior?
6. What kind of controls result in socialized behavior?
7. Wherein would lie the need for social control if every member of society were thoroughly socialized?
8. What is the relation of social controls to social standards?
9. What is scientific social control?
10. Why are so few social controls scientifically determined even where science has advanced furthest?
11. When do you feel the most recalcitrant?
12. Why is institutional control helpful?
13. When is it dangerous?
14. How generally are persons aware of being under control?
15. What is the best way to estimate the volume of social control at any time in society?
16. Illustrate: "There never has been a society that did not tolerate or approve some conduct that was bad for it."

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CHAPTER XXXV

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN PROCESS

SOcial psychology is both a new and an old subject. As a science it has hardly got under way, yet every person since the beginning of human time has been making social psychological guesses. Every person from infancy has struggled out of one social psychological quandary into another. For the most part he has blundered along from social situation to social situation and thereby grown in personality stature or become first discouraged and then disorganized.

For centuries there has been much unorganized thinking about the nature of intersocial stimulation. Since the beginning of human society every person has been vitally and continually concerned in the responses which his own behavior would produce in the behavior of his fellows, and repeatedly he has cursed his luck for having said or done "the wrong thing," that is, the thing which has caused his fellows to respond contrarily to his wishes. More fundamental still, without his always realizing it, man's behavior everywhere has been largely determined by the stimuli which the behavior of his fellows afforded.

Moreover, in every social group there have undoubtedly been some who have seriously reflected upon the nature of this interstimulation and its results, in order, if possible, to discover rules or procedures by which to control the conduct of others. Such thinking gives social psychology a claim to be considered as one of the oldest of human studies, although its scientific development is only recent.

In the primitive tribe the phenomena of leadership and group control attracted the attention of the more thoughtful. The tribal chieftain made rough calculations concerning the probable actions of his subjects under the flush of victory or the gloom of defeat. The Australian Blackfellow who put a taboo upon young cocoanuts in order to protect them and to have a supply of them on a given feast day possessed a rudimentary knowledge of group control. The African belle who wore thirty pounds of copper ornaments upon her ankles in order to eclipse a rival who wore only twenty-five pounds knew something of the psychology of fashion.

Among the Greeks we find evidences of organized thinking concerning psychical processes. Plato, for example, made many observations of a

socio-psychological nature. If one person accumulates wealth, others will imitate, and as a result, all the citizens will become lovers of money.¹ He stood for custom imitation and opposed fashion imitation. Customs represent the ripe fruitage of the centuries.² The chief advantage of laws is not that they make men honest, but that they cause them to act uniformly and hence in a socially dependable way.³ Plato pointed out the parallelism between a just society and a just individual, and asserted that the conduct of individuals in the mass is predictable, thus forecasting the study of behavior uniformities.

According to Aristotle man is a political animal, that is to say, man lives by necessity in association.⁴ Social organization is not as important as attitudes. All the people of a given state must become social-minded before there can be a perfect government. The "social mean" plays a leading part in Aristotle's analysis of human interactions. The existence of only two classes of society—the very rich and the very poor—spells social disaster. Society is safe only when the middle class is in control. Aristotle analyzed the psychological weakness of communism when he wrote: "For that which is common to the greatest number has the least care bestowed upon it."⁵ In the mind of this renowned philosopher, social process and development are uppermost.

In the beginning of the modern period, Thomas More revealed a keen understanding of social interaction. In *Utopia* he provided for forestalling fashion imitation.⁶ Laws in Utopia are few because the people have become socialized, masters of social situations; in consequence few regulations are necessary.⁷ Socialized habits make social legislation superfluous, and subjective personal control lessens the need for objective social control. In not allowing the Utopians to vote immediately upon new issues, More purposely guarded them against the dangers of crowd emotion. He stressed freedom of opinion, the group value of sympathy, and protested against administering punishment without first attempting to understand the personal causes for offenses.

Sympathy was analyzed at length by David Hume. He held that the sentiment of sympathy develops into intelligent coöperation and that rational control of social processes is feasible. Against the influences of environment upon man Hume placed imitativeness, declaring that group

¹ *Republic*, tr. by Jowett, 550 D. E.; cf. *Laws*, tr. by Jowett, pp. 742, 791.

² *Laws*, p. 722.

³ *Statesman*, tr. by Jowett, see books IX-XII.

⁴ *Politics*, tr. by Jowett, pp. 1, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XI: 3.

⁶ *Utopia* (Bohn's Libraries), pp. 148, 149.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

uniformities are due more largely to imitative processes than to like physical environments. It is by ideas such as these that Hume refuted the prevailing social contract concept of society and became the father of social psychology.

It was Lester F. Ward, however, who was the first to direct attention to the importance of the psychic factors in social evolution.⁸ In the development of civilization the psychic forces have gradually come to the fore, and have tended to assume control over the physical and biological processes. The education and training of all individuals will enable them to direct intersocial stimulation to the development of all and of each. Although his psychology was faulty, Ward demonstrated the need for social psychology.

The first scientific observer to collect and classify the data of intersocial stimulation in a specific field was Gabriel Tarde.⁹ About 1890 Tarde began to announce the results of his social psychological studies. Soon the field was broadened out by the studies of such scholars as E. A. Ross, F. H. Giddings, C. H. Cooley, William McDougall, E. A. Ellwood and other well-known writers. Professor Giddings achieved international recognition with his development of the concept of "consciousness of kind,"¹⁰ but Professor Ross was the first American sociologist to create a social psychological system of thought; he developed the "planes and currents" concept, with "planes" referring to the agreements among groups of people in the matter of languages, religions and cultures, and "currents," to the agitations taking place among people, the crowd contagions, strikes, revolutions.¹¹

Even the same year that E. A. Ross launched social psychology in the United States, 1908, William McDougall, then at the University of Oxford, published a volume which inaugurated another type of social psychology. He led off in the development of the psychological schools of social psychology with his instinct-emotion theory of social life.¹² Other psychologists have followed in McDougall's train, although differing widely from him—such as F. H. Allport with his substitute theory of prepotent reflexes and his behavioristic swing. Social psychology received a strong initial push

⁸ See *Dynamic Sociology* (Appleton, 1883).

⁹ See *Lois de L'imitation* (Paris, 1890), transl. into English by Parsons and published as *The Laws of Imitation* (Holt, 1903). Other important works by Tarde are *Social Laws*, transl. by Warren (Macmillan, 1907); *La logique sociale* (Paris, 1898).

¹⁰ *Principles of Sociology* (Macmillan, 1896).

¹¹ E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (Macmillan, 1908).

¹² *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (Luce, 1908). See Ch. I of this volume for a discussion of the instinct theory.

from the psychologist J. Mark Baldwin, whose *Social and Ethical Interpretations* was published in 1897, which bore the sub-title of "A Study in Social Psychology," and which developed the ideas of imitation, invention, the social personality, and so on. Since Baldwin's day the psychologists have played a strong hand in the development of social psychology, both in classroom courses and in textbooks, but always with the emphasis on the social phases of the individual.

The sociologists have played an even stronger hand in developing social psychology. Early in the present century, W. I. Thomas began to receive recognition for his pioneer work in personality studies, in his analyses of attitudes, of the four wishes, of social situations. Similar studies were soon inaugurated by Robert E. Park with emphasis on community studies, spatial relationships, race relations, ecological considerations, social processes.

Charles H. Cooley, in a remarkable trilogy of books,¹³ is to be viewed as one of the founders of social psychology. He has contributed such generally accepted concepts as primary groups, communication, looking-glass self, public opinion as a process, social process. Many of his findings have since been verified by the more objective studies of other scholars, thus establishing the validity of his thinking.

Other pioneer work in social psychology has been done by such writers as C. A. Ellwood, who gave attention to the rôles of instinct, intelligence, imitation, feeling in group life, and to social change. In recent years a number of younger students and writers have been making contributions to social psychology, although the field is by no means as yet clearly defined. Social psychology is treated to-day both as an adjunct to psychology, as occupying a middle ground between psychology and sociology, and as constituting the dynamic phases of sociology.¹⁴ The term, "psychological sociology" has been tried by the sociologists but has never made the appeal that the shorter term, "social psychology" has achieved.

Social psychology is one of the youngest of the special social sciences. In the United States the subject has risen into prominence rapidly since 1908 when Ross and McDougall shared the pioneering honors. When Roosevelt became president of the United States there was no book in this country that bore the title "social psychology"; and only one that

¹³ *Human Nature and the Social Order*, *Social Organization*, and *Social Process*.

¹⁴ The experiences of C. A. Ellwood are interestingly indicated in the titles to his three books, appearing in a sequence but dealing with the same field. The first was called *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects* (Appleton, 1912): the second *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (Appleton, 1917): and the third, *The Psychology of Human Society* (Appleton, 1925).

printed it in its sub-title (Baldwin). Although social psychology received recognition in Europe earlier than in the United States, its systematic development in the latter country has gone forward by leaps and bounds. It is steadily becoming more objective, scientific, behavioristic, gestaltistic, —without bowing down to any single theory. It is analyzing the interplay of personalities in social situations, the resultant changes in personalities, and the functioning of social processes.

PROPOSITIONS

1. An informal, popular social psychology has existed since the beginning of human society, but a scientific social psychology has had a history of scarcely three decades.
2. Plato and Aristotle were among the first to propose a number of tentative psycho-social laws.
3. Thomas More outlined a society to be constructed on psycho-social principles.
4. Gabriel Tarde was the first to develop a system of social psychology, specializing on laws of imitation, opposition, and invention.
5. Edward A. Ross, the first American to develop a system of social psychology, constructed a theory of planes (agreements) and currents (agitations).
6. William McDougall brought out a theory of instincts and their accompanying emotions as explanatory of human actions.
7. William I. Thomas built up a theory of attitudes and values, social situations and life histories.
8. Many other American writers have contributed to a new and eclectic notion of social psychology, with the subject becoming a main branch of psychology and the center of sociology.

PROBLEMS

1. In what sense is social psychology an old subject?
2. In what way is it new?
3. What are the differences between it and psychology?
4. How does it differ from sociology?
5. How do the psychologist's and the sociologist's interpretation of it differ?
6. In what sense is the man in the street a crude social psychologist?
7. How does the business man make use of a crass social psychology?
8. In what way is teaching a social psychological process?
9. In what ways will the study of social psychology be of value to you?
10. What concept in social psychology is the most practical?
11. What has been the main direction of the development of social psychology in the last two decades or so?
12. What are some of the next steps in social psychology?

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